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Negotiating Social Divisions: A History of Inequality In Monterey County, CA

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Negotiating Social Divisions: A History of Inequality In Monterey County, CA

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Dedication

I dedicate this report to those who have supported my efforts and inspired my motivations thus far. To my family, you are always in my heart.

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Abstract

Negotiating Social Divisions: A History of Inequality In Monterey County, CA

by

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2012

Supervisor: Martha Menchaca

Monterey County is one of the most economically productive regions in California. With its geographical range enclosing prime environmental conditions for agriculture production, pine forests lining the Pacific shore, and the Monterey Bay, people have flocked to the region in search of opportunity. Since the Spanish colonial period to the present, the region has been home to a variety of immigrants and migrants from around the world; thus, social and cultural interactions between residents have shaped the political, economic, and social conditions of the communities in Monterey County throughout history. Furthermore, with the influx of Europeans and Anglo Americans in the early nineteenth century, colonial hegemonies, racial politics, and cultural ideologies influenced the ways by which dominant groups gained power and attempted to control the distribution of social resources throughout Monterey County. As a result, a long record of racial discrimination, marginalization, resistance, and

community shifts are prominent throughout the community histories of the region. Today, cultural ideologies and racial hierarchies continue to permeate social relations in the region and influence the socioeconomic differences between the minority-dominated communities and the Anglo dominated communities in Monterey County. Latinos are currently the largest group of the region, making up 55.4 percent of the population while Anglos make up the next largest group at 32.9 percent of the population. The social divisions between Anglos and minorities shape the ongoing struggle for equality in a variety of spheres of community life in the region. The goal of this project is to contribute to the social history of racial and ethnic relations throughout Monterey County in California. Moreover, I hope to create a foundation for future ethnographic field-work concerning current race and ethnic relations and the construction of cultural ideologies in Monterey County. This historical analysis begins with the Spanish colonization of California in the late eighteenth century and continues into the late twentieth century; however, I focus on exploring the racial and ethnic discrimination that was launched after the Spanish conquest and later, augmented by the United States government after the conquest of California in 1848, and continued to increase as war, political ties, and civil rights movements affected the Monterey County communities (Chavez 2007). My focus on the deeply embedded intersecting processes of discrimination, segregation, and marginalization in Monterey County's history of ethnic and race relations reveals the heavy impact this long history has had on the social conditions of minorities and ethnic relations in the region today.

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Steinbeck Country: An Introduction to Monterey County, CA

"It's all fine to say, 'Time will heal everything, this too shall pass away. People will forget'—and things like that when you are not involved, but when you are there is no passage of time, people do not forget and you are in the middle of something that does not change."
- John Steinbeck, *Cannery Row* (1945)

"Men who have created new fruits in the world cannot create a system whereby their fruits may be eaten. And the failure hangs over the State like a great sorrow…[A]nd in the eyes of the people there is the failure; and in the eyes of the hungry there is a growing wrath. In the souls of the people the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, growing heavy for the vintage."
-John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939)

What happens in California happens elsewhere, but while the state is not unique, it is special, because what happens in the rest of the United States usually happens first in California. California's special place in American history and consciousness can be attributed largely to its geography. Lying at the far west of the West, California has symbolized the primary frontier to a nation built on frontier history and legend. California's mild climate and rich geographical diversity, along with its gold, silver, and oil reserves has led it to stand out as a place where the American dream of upward social and economic mobility combines with a frontier-inspired vigor and the ongoing desire to keep moving forward bigger and better things, that has permeated American history. In a state of over thirty-seven million people, only a few can make the claim of having been born in California and even fewer can trace their ancestors to California birthplaces. Thus, California is the quintessential immigration state in a nation founded upon immigration. Immigration to California has become international, with migrants from

regions around the world flocking to a California that is still looked upon as the Golden State, despite the many blows and holes in that image. As a Californian, I am well situated to understand the many issues that are of interest within the state and beyond. From the dream that has brought so many to California, to the controversies over education, immigration, and the management of natural resources, California offers a plethora of opportunities to investigate and discuss both state and national issues. The following project takes on a variety of those issues dealing with racial politics, community social relations, cultural ideologies, and the effects of discrimination and marginalization situated in the history of Monterey County, CA to the present.

Figure 1: Map of California, Divided by County

Source: 2000 U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 2: Map of Monterey County

Source: Google Inc. Maps 2012, Monterey County, CA

Monterey County is located on the California coast just South of the San Francisco Bay Area and Santa Cruz County and is made up of about 3,280 square miles, from the coast to the inland region. Monterey County is notorious for Big Sur, which holds one of the highest coastal mountains and stunning views of the region and beach line, as well as scenic Route 1 along the coast, the Monterey Bay Aquarium, Cannery Row in Monterey, and the historic agriculture industry in the Salinas Valley. The history

of the region goes back to Native American occupation of the region and the establishment of first Spanish missions and the Spanish fort, Presidio of Monterey, during the eighteenth century. From the Spanish occupation forward, a variety of immigrants and migrants have settled in the region contributing to diverse social relations and community development rooted in the area. The 2010 census records the Monterey County population at 415,057 and the table below demonstrates the racial make-up of the region today.

Table 1: Monterey County Population by Race and Ethnicity, 2010

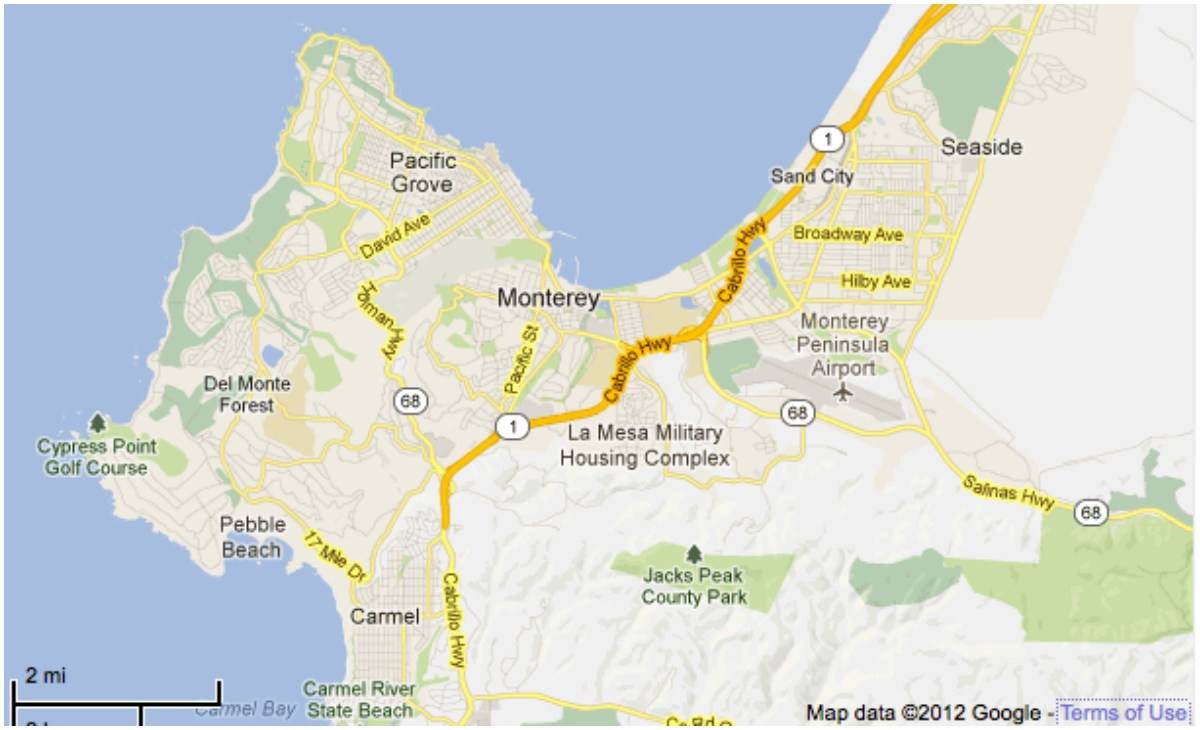
Category	***Number***
Total	415,057
White	230,717
African American	12,785
Native American	5,464
Asian	25,258
Pacific Islander	2,071
Other Races	117,405
Two or More Races	21,357
Hispanic or Latino	230,003
Source: U.S. Census 2010	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010

Latinos make up the majority of the county population, making up 55.4 percent of the residents in the region with the 90.2 percent of the Latinos being of Mexican origin. Whites make up the next major group at 32.9 percent of the county population, followed my Asians at 5.7 percent of the county residents. Monterey County's population is divided between the eastern portion of the region, the Salinas Valley located inland, and the western part of the region, the Monterey Peninsula along the coast. Driving down

Interstate Highway 1, you are caught between the beautiful sand dunes lining the ocean and the green and beige hills of the Monterey Peninsula. The Monterey Peninsula, as shown in the map below, consists of coastal towns surrounding the Monterey Bay and includes some of the most prestigious neighborhoods in the county. Carmel by the Sea, Pebble Beach, and Pacific Grove are wealthy and suburban towns that hold beautiful homes and estates along the beach. Monterey is a small, suburban city that is home to Cannery Row, the Monterey Bay Aquarium, and parks. Except for the small cities of Seaside and Marina, which have prominent historic roots as minority-dominated regions and contain Latinos, Blacks, and Asians, the main cities along the Monterey Peninsula (Monterey, Pacific Grove, Carmel, and Pebble Beach) consist of a majority of 83 percent Anglo (2010 U.S. Census, Monterey County). Hotels, restaurants, golf courses, and boutiques line the main streets of Monterey while state parks and ecological reserves surround the cities. The following map illustrates hones in on the Monterey Peninsula and the towns within.

Figure 3: Map of the Monterey Peninsula, CA



Source: Google Inc. 2012, Monterey Peninsula

Just across the mountains from the Monterey Bay, lining Interstate Highway 101 for about ninety miles, are the towns within the Salinas Valley, the "Salad Bowl" of America (Anderson 2000). Surrounded by dusty roads, large shopping centers and plazas, and large fields of crops such as strawberries, grapes, broccoli, and of course, lettuce, the residents on this side of Monterey County are about 77 percent Latino, with the rest of the populations primarily consisting of Anglos and Asians. Salinas is the heart of the valley, with 150,441 residents, 75 percent of which is Latino, and is considered a metropolitan area within a rural landscape (U.S. Census, Salinas 2010). The famous novelist John Steinbeck was born in Salinas and made it the setting of several of his

books including *The Grapes of Wrath*, *East of Eden*, and *Of Mice and Men*. Historic downtown Salinas is home to the National Steinbeck Center, the Steinbeck House, and the John Steinbeck Library, all of which is surrounded by beautiful Victorian architecture. As you move towards East Salinas, the setting changes into one that is heavily influenced by the Latino population in the area. Aztec murals are found on city walls and businesses such as salons, stores, and restaurants that cater to the Latino residents permeate the area. The following map shows the towns located along the Salinas Valley.

Figure 4: Map of the Salinas Valley, California

Source: Google Maps 2012, the Salinas Valley, CA

Both the Monterey Peninsula and the Salinas Valley are ruled by the Monterey County governing body; yet, the stark differences between the Monterey Peninsula and the Salinas Valley are outstanding. I realized the stark contrasts of the two areas through visits and pit stops on my trips back and forth between my hometown in the San Francisco Bay Area and my undergraduate institution, the University of California, Santa Barbara. As I began my undergraduate studies concerning ethnic relations in rural California communities at the Department of Anthropology at UC Santa Barbara, I became more curious about the Salinas Valley as I passed through the area a couple times a month because, as a Mexican-American, I noticed the heavy Latino influence in the area, especially in towns of Salinas and Soledad where almost all the stores or restaurants I visited were inhabited by Latinos. So, I asked professors, my family, and friends about the region. I was introduced to the popularity of the area for its agriculture and farm labor strikes as well as Steinbeck's setting for his novels. When I realized that the Monterey Bay, a place I had visited for elementary school trips to the aquarium, family trips to the beautiful beaches, and the Steinbeck Wax Museum, was under the same governing jurisdiction as the Salinas Valley, I was taken aback. The physical differences in housing, racial make-up, and economic engines are amazing and are permeated by the stark contrasts in cultural ideologies and public atmosphere. As a Mexican American in the San Francisco Bay Area and coming from a neighborhood in the heart of Silicon Valley locally known as "little Mexico," I have grown up negotiating a variety of interethnic relations as part of my daily interactions. Monterey County, encapsulating aspects of rural, metropolitan, and coastal life, holds issues of minority discrimination

which are all too familiar to those from racially and ethnically diverse regions in California, me included. I knew this region was where I wanted to pursue my anthropological research in community studies, and this project is the outcome of my decision to investigate social relations between and amongst the Monterey Peninsula and the Salinas Valley.

The goal of this project is to contribute to the social history of racial and ethnic relations throughout Monterey County in California. Moreover, I hope to create a foundation for future ethnographic field-work concerning current race and ethnic relations and the construction of cultural ideologies in Monterey County. This historical analysis begins with the Spanish colonization of California in the late eighteenth century and continues into the late twentieth century; however, I focus on exploring the racial and ethnic discrimination that was launched after the Spanish conquest and later, augmented by the United States government after the conquest of California in 1848, and which increased as war, political ties, and civil rights movements affected the Monterey County communities (Chavez 2007). The core period of investigation ranges from 1770 to 2012. Throughout this period, I focus on the deeply embedded intersecting processes of discrimination, segregation, and marginalization in Monterey's history of ethnic and race relations. I investigate many renowned establishments and events throughout Monterey County; however, instead of solely exploring certain events and periods in regard to their impact on the region as a whole, I dig deeper to focus on race and ethnic relations between the various groups of people and communities as political, economic, social, and cultural conditions fluctuated throughout Monterey County history. I end the historical

analysis with a discussion regarding the current race and ethnic relations in Monterey County and the effects of a long history of discrimination and marginalization on the minority communities in the region.

Several influential pieces inspire my historical analysis on contested communities in Monterey County. Howard Winant's *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, and Justice* (2004), calls for scholars to study the socio-historical construction of race as the basis of social organization. In multiracial and multiethnic societies, race has been used throughout history to allocate specific social and economic privileges to those deemed worthy by those in power. Instead of focusing on the psychological basis for the processes of discrimination, Winant urges scholars to take an historical approach and provide context illustrating the use of race to justify the discrimination and marginalization of certain racial and ethnic groups in a society. In her book, *The Mexican Outsiders: A Community History of Marginalization and Discrimination* (1995), Martha Menchaca argues that Anglo Americans have ignored the Mexican history of California cities and towns. Menchaca claims, "Racial minorities are essentially robbed of their historical presence and treated as a people without history. The exclusion also serves to construct a distorted community because issues of interethnic contact are deleted from historical discourse" (Menchaca 1995: XV). In the case of Santa Paula, CA, where her study takes place, most local residents are unaware of the long history of the communities of Chumash Native Americans and original Mexican settlement in the region long before the arrival of the Anglo Americans. Menchaca seeks to add and correct the town's history through local archival research and local oral histories to better

understand how the past has affected the city's social relations today. By taking an approach to history that focuses on the understated or ignored communities that have settled in Santa Paula, Menchaca situates historical social relations between residents over time and the development of what she calls, "social apartness," which consists of methods for social control in which Mexicans were expected to interact with Anglo Americans by specific terms set by the Anglo population. By examining history from perspectives and archives different from those in the public history of the city, Menchaca discovers that social apartness continues in Santa Paula today, especially in the schools, businesses, and other public social institutions. By taking into account Winant's approach to the study of race as a socio-historical process as well as Menchaca's approach to studying social relations between racial and ethnic groups throughout a region's history, I aim to reveal a history of social relations in Monterey County that has directly impacted social relations between minorities and Anglos today.

This investigation examines the historical transformation of Monterey County from a environmentally-rich region inhabited by diverse groups of Native Americans, to an ethnically diverse, predominantly working class populations along the coast and inland valley in the 1870s, to an ethnically separated and divided region with coinciding stark social and political contrasts between the Monterey Peninsula and the Salinas district into the present. Chapters are determined by historical phases where I noticed the most significant changes in community formation and social rebuilding. Methods for examination of this section of the project include archival, database, and census reviews from the 1770s to the 1990s. This investigation reveals a long history of immigration,

migration, and settlement of diverse ethnic peoples, including Latinos, to Monterey County since the Spanish period in the eighteenth century to the present. Coinciding with the settlement of diverse ethnic populations in the region are the foundations of racism, discrimination, and marginalization as Monterey County experienced economic, political, and cultural transformations throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Chapter 1 Community, Politics, and Industry: Dramatic Shifts in Monterey County, CA from the 1770 to 1920

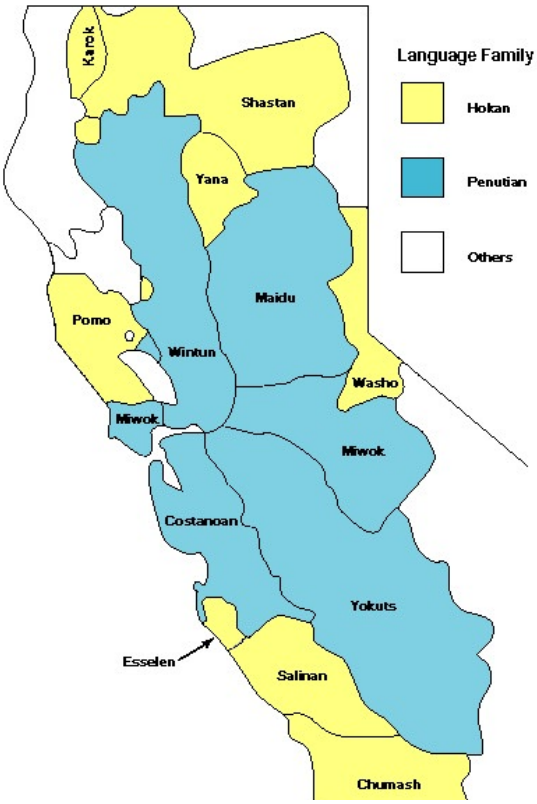
The mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought people from a variety of classes, races, ethnicities, and cultures to Monterey County. Colonialism, economic booms, potential for development and enterprise, political motives, and social networks accelerated the establishment of cities throughout both the peninsula and the inner Salinas Valley. The shifts in government rule including Spanish to Mexican and Mexican to American brought significant economic, political, and social changes to the communities that were forming throughout the county. Manifested in these changes are movements that would benefit a few and marginalize many, a trend that persists and increases over time. This chapter outlines the roots of discrimination and marginalization throughout early establishment of Monterey County, from the Spanish mission period to the American industrial period that set the foundations for recurrent discrimination against minorities and people of color today.

NEW SPAIN AND THE MISSION: CALIFORNIA'S FIRST "WORKING CLASS"

The occupation of Alta California began in 1768 with the "Sacred Expedition" that moved Father Junípero Serra, of the Franciscan missionary order, and Gaspar de Portola into San Diego from Baja California. The Bourbon reforms in central Mexico formed the basis of the organizational shifts in the colonial territories of Spain that emphasized plans for increasing revenue and extracting larger surpluses from the colonial territories for the crown (Gentilcore 1961: 51-52). Monterey became a prime location for Spanish missions due to the large Native American population, port access, and mild

climate. The Spanish settlements surrounding Monterey, CA include Mission San Carlos de Borromeo, founded June 3, 1770, the Presidio of Monterey, founded June 3, 1770, and Mission of Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, founded October 9, 1791. For the missionaries, a sufficient Native American population under missionary control was essential to the mission; thus, the large populations of Salinan, Costanoan/Ohlone, and Esselen tribes in Monterey County attracted priests for Catholic conversion (Monterey County Historical Society resource). Although Monterey County is located slightly north of the central peninsula, Native Americans in the Monterey County region shared more characteristics with Native tribes south toward the Santa Barbara Channel, rather than the northern region (Pilling 1955: 79).

Figure 5. Linguistic Families of the California Region



Source: Jackson 1991

Despite differences in language and culture, the three groups of Native tribes resided alongside one another in Monterey County missions (Breschini and Haversat 2004). As opposed to their customary hunter-gatherer lifestyle, a rigid daily schedule was thought to be morally enriching for the Native Americans; thus, the Native American population of Alta California was to be converted into a disciplined labor force to generate goods and agricultural produce for the missions and presidios. Economic independence from the unreliable and expensive shipments from central Mexico was key in establishing settlement in Monterey County; therefore, organization of the mission economy became a central aspect of the daily lives of missionaries, Native Americans, and Spanish settler and soldier populations in Monterey County (Jackson 1991: 409).

Key economic activities were predominant in Monterey County and launched economic patterns and land management that extended beyond the Spanish period in California to the present. From the late 1780s until the 1830s, the major economic activities in the Monterey County region were concentrated at the local missions and presidio and included agriculture, cattle and sheep ranching, textile construction, masonry, food processing, and irrigation construction and maintenance. The size of the labor force at each mission varied, but an estimated 60-70 percent of the Native American population at both Mission San Carlos and Mission Soledad participated in the labor force, with around 30 percent working in agriculture on a regular basis and about 20 percent tending the herds (Jackson 1991: 412-413; Smith 1944: 3).

Agriculture formed the basis of the mission economies. The Spanish introduced new crops and livestock to the region as well as a system dependent on seasonal and

permanent manual labor in California agriculture that allowed for populations to flourish. As much as 30 percent of the Native American population worked in agriculture, but during seasonal times when labor required a temporary increase in manual labor, around 60 percent would contribute in the agriculture sector (Jackson 1991: 400). Native American men and women were highly segregated during daily activities and only married couples who were deemed legitimate by the missionaries were allowed to spend quality time together (Wade 2008). Furthermore, due to high death rates caused by disease, suicides, and infanticide and low birth rates, the Native populations in the missions in Monterey County decreased dramatically, while Spanish settlers in the region increased. In terms of interactions between Spanish soldiers, settlers and Natives, the missionaries attempted to create strict restrictions regarding relations between soldiers, their families, and Native Americans; thus, Native American contract labor made up the majority of the contact between Mission Natives and soldiers. Although social integration between Spanish settlers and Natives seldom occurred during missionary rule it did exist as the Spanish procured Native labor and profited from the opportunity to attain goods (Jackson 1991).

The missions of Monterey County contributed to the sustenance of the local populations as well as to other mission districts around Alta California. The Presidio of Monterey and Missions Soledad and San Carlos heavily relied on the economic activities of the Native American labor force for goods, food, contract and informal labor, and infrastructure. The importance of production of surpluses for the military influenced the development of the mission economies, but the Franciscans faced the issue of an unstable

labor force due to factors such as high death rates, low birth rates, infanticide, disease, flight, and resistance which depleted the mission communities and greatly affected the ability to maintain the mission economy. Native American resistance, whether passive or explicit, occurred at a regular rate in Alta California. In 1798, records indicate the escape of 138 Native Americans from the nearby Santa Cruz mission at the southern point of Monterey Bay, to the Pajaro Valley region. The decrease in Native Americans greatly depleted the labor force and affected daily economic activities in the missions (Jackson 1991: 399-401). As more Native Americans fled the missions in Monterey County, the soldiers became increasingly important to intimidate escapees and run punitive missions to capture fugitives, causing more tension and chaos throughout the region. The constant confrontations between Native Americans, missionaries, settlers, and soldiers reveals the failures and ineffectiveness of cultural and religious conversion of the Native American populace in Alta California on numerous interconnecting levels.

In essence, the Spanish colonized Alta California through the exploitation of Native American labor, which allowed for the construction of missions, the formation of effective mission economies, the support of the military, as well as protection from hostile Native Americans and potential foreign invasion. Despite the success of the mission economy in terms of production, the missionary program of religious and social conversion failed, as Native Americans proved resistant to the imposition of strict rulings and to the missionaries' methods of punishment and coercion. In addition, gender segregation, malnutrition, contrasting lifestyles, and mental depression left the Native American populations with little confidence in the mission institution. Thus, at the time

of secularization in the 1830s, the missions were already declining in conditions as buildings crumbled, Native American raids affected agriculture and livestock, and control over a sufficient labor force declined and caused chaotic conditions for the missions as the missionaries lost their authoritative power. The mission ended as a prime economic institution in California as Mexican and Spanish settlers took over the economic enterprise of the state. Unfortunately for the Native Americans, social, economic, and political conditions worsened and California's first working class was reduced to a marginalized community that continued its decline and became marginalized in social and political discourse into the Gold Rush years.

THE 1830'S: SECULARIZATION OF THE MISSIONS AND NATIVE AMERICANS AS MEXICAN CITIZENS

After the Mexican War for independence, the Spanish Crown lost its reign over Mexico; thus, Mexican *mestizos*[1] and Mexican-born Spaniards set out to create a new political administration with the official lowering of the Spanish flag in Monterey in 1822 (Jackson 1991: 411). Many of the *mestizos* and Mexican-born Spaniards were descendants from the soldiers stationed in the Presidio of Monterey as well as the settlers that came along during the Juan Baustista de Anza expedition of 1775. This shift in governance resulted in important political and territorial transformations that greatly affected social relations throughout the Southwest. Although Mexico became detached from Spain's restraining commercial policies and opened California to foreign trade, taxes on import and export goods were relatively high and after 1826, Monterey was left

[1] Racially mixed, of Native American, European, and African-American ancestry. In-depth analysis of *mestizo* can be found in Peter Wade *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*, 1997 and Magnus Morner *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America*, 1967.

as the sole official port of entry (Weber 1982: 151). Although open markets allowed for practices in free trade, many obligatory contributions, fees, and taxes on all goods from otter pelts to cattle brands, depleted the settlers' and soldiers' earnings from the new free trade system. As a result, much of the soldier population refused to work, rioted, or moved outside of the Presidio to make a living which resulted in the susceptibility of the missions and the residing populations to livestock and horse raids by both Native Americans and soldiers, which further exacerbated conditions at the missions (Jackson 1991: 413).

The Colonization Act of 1824 and the Supplemental Regulations of 1828 created a system in which individuals, including Mexican nationals and foreigners, could obtain title to land in California (Weber 1982: 162, 180-181). Furthermore, the Secularization Act of 1833 transferred the power of the missionaries to secular priests who opened up key mission lands for agricultural practices and settlement. The mission economy was at its end by the 1830s and secularization transferred control over most of the important economic resources in the region, including land, livestock, and labor, from the missionaries to settlers. Secularization of the missions gave the *padres* a limited time frame of fifteen years to secularize the missions and to convert Natives into citizen farmers. The Mexican government anticipated agriculture reformation in which the Native Americans in California would provide revenue thus allowing for Native American integration in the Mexican commercial economy (Menchaca 1995). Each Native American family was to be granted a small portion of mission land in order to develop the land for agricultural means. In addition to hopes of economic incorporation,

the Mexican government also granted Native Americans full political rights as Mexican citizens and expected their involvement in Mexico's political system (Padilla 1979). Though these initiatives were passed in California, the actual social and political identities of the Native Americans of Monterey County after the Mexican citizenship laws were passed need to be further investigated. There is some evidence of intermarriage between Spanish soldiers and Mexican men with Native American women after the shift to Mexican government in Monterey County, though this was not common (Johnston 2002: 6). The historical record does indicate however, that by 1840, the missions were replaced by Mexican-owned private ranchos as the leading social and economic establishments in California and all but a few former mission Natives had been rendered without land entitlement and either lived along creeks with their families or took up tenancy on Mexican ranches (Smith 1944: 16).

The Spanish, Mexican, and Native American population made up the majority of the Monterey County population in the 1830s and 1840s; however, the onset of an increasing Chinese and Japanese population along coastal Point Lobos, south of Cannery Row, in 1850 contributed to the increasing ethnic diversity of the region. The society that emerged during this period was partly monetary and still largely regulated by the moral economy (Camarillo 2009; Kemp 2001). During the Mexican period in Monterey County, a total of seventy-nine land grants, of an average size of nine thousand acres each, were made to Mexican and Mexican-born Spanish men and families (Johnston 2002: 6). Nearly every prominent family, public official, and naturalized foreigner is listed amongst the decade's grantees. The Soberanes males were the greatest landowners

in Monterey County, including ownership of the lands of Mission Soledad to Feliciano Soberanes after secularization (Ibid 6). Cattle and sheep raising, hide and tallow production, as well as small-scale grain production were sufficient for economic survival in the Salinas Valley, while seal hunting, sheep herding, and artisanship made up the economic activities on the Monterey Peninsula (Anderson 2000; Walton 2001).

In terms of spatial organization, the early Mexican period, from 1821-1845, was marked by a considerable mixture of people of different ethnic backgrounds and languages living in moderate proximity to one another due to the necessity of access to water. Intermingling eventually increased, especially between Mexicans, Spaniards, and Anglos with virtually all of the immigrant British and American merchants marrying women of elite Spanish or Mexican families in Monterey County; thus, expanding social networks, political influence, commercial opportunity, and gaining access to private lands (Walton 2001: 77). Many Anglo migrant men joined the Catholic Church, adopted Hispanic names, learned the Spanish language, pledged their loyalty to Mexico, and through these incorporations, became naturalized citizens qualified to own property. The rural population increased, with ranches housing multiple families, former mission Native Americans, and the new *mestizo* working class embodied by *vaqueros* and female domestic laborers (Walton 2001: 80-81). Families, whether Native American, Mexican, Spanish, or Anglo-American, continued to congregate at the missions during Holy Week, at the Feast of St. Anthony on June 13, and Mexican Independence Day, September 16. The opportunities for barbecues, horseback riding and fancy roping, games, singing,

dancing, romancing, and folktales brought the majority of the townspeople together in celebration (Johnston 2002: 6).

Despite successful social events and intermingling of the diverse populations in Monterey County, a socioeconomic hierarchy persisted throughout the Mexican period with Mexican ranch owners and Anglo merchants at the top of the ladder and Native Americans remaining at the margins of society and at the lower rungs of the working class. On the ranchos, former mission Native Americans carried out the same labor that had allowed the Franciscans to control the production of hides and tallow until 1834. Native Americans herded and slaughtered cattle, preserved hides, and rendered tallow to sustain consumer demand. Also, similar to mission environments, the larger ranchos practiced a gendered division of labor that put men in the fields and stables, and women in the dwellings, where they cleaned, sewed, and cooked (Weber 1982: 161-63). Native Americans who worked on the ranchos rarely received cash for their services. Most were caught up in a complex system of mutual obligations that some scholars describe as "peonage," "seigneurialism," or "paternalism" (Cook 1976: 51; Weber 1982: 211; Almaguer 2008: 50). In this system, Native Americans worked for the ranch owner for basic necessities and a daily allotment of food; furthermore, some ranch hands accepted goods in advance and then found themselves bound to ranch work until they had repaid their debt (Smith 1944: 16). A few ranch owners became well-off from the revenue they gained through Native Americans' work and made enough money to purchase fine cloth, profuse attire, and luxury goods to differentiate them from the laboring group and define themselves as a superior social class (Monroy 1993: 136-38).

Strategies in commerce introduced significant changes in California society during this period as city administrations were established as commission institutions. European and Anglo-American merchants began settling in Monterey County in greater numbers during the 1840s and expanded commercial ties amongst themselves. Also by this time, export-oriented ranches began to expand in the Salinas Valley, while ports along the coast were regulating exports in fish products and seal hides (Johnston 2002). As commercial exports increased, merchant and Mexican officials confronted one another, usually at odds over customs regulations and duties. Mexico encouraged free trade but wanted to regulate the traffic and collect the required import duties at the official custom house, headquartered in Monterey, while Anglo American and European merchants continuously pushed for laissez-faire commercial practices (Walton 2001: 91).

As the U.S. began to expand into Mexican territories in the south in the 1830s and the promise of California for economic and political potential became increasingly noticed by the U.S. government, a fight for territory between the U.S. and Mexico for California was impending. Many Mexican ranch owners did succeed in establishing commercial businesses for themselves and their families in the region, as revealed by the large ranch estates of the Soberanes family; yet, the slow-paced commercial activities on the ranches were viewed by many capitalist-centered Anglo migrants as "inefficient and wasteful" while the moral economy that regulated the system in Mexican California contradicted capitalist enterprise (Jackson 1991: 416). Manuel Castañares, representing California in the National Congress declared that the possession of California was more crucial to the United States than the attainment of Texas. In an exposition to the

government on September 1844, he described California as "uncared for and abandoned hitherto, she will be irredeemably lost…a powerful foreign nation will encamp there…then her mines will be worked, her ports crowded, her fields cultivated; then will a numerous and industrious people acquire property, to be defended with their blood…and then this, for our country, will produce the opposite effects" (Barrows and Ingersoll1893: 41). Thus, in a rush to gain the promising territory of the west coast, the U.S.-Mexico War commenced on May 11, 1846, when President Polk announced the nation was at war with Mexico. Military resistance in Monterey ensued; however, the fighting was short-lived and resulted in the U.S. possession of California ending with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 (Walton 2001: 41).

The first few years of American rule over California, from 1846 to 1855, did not bring significant changes to Monterey County. The raising of the flag over the Monterey Custom House on July 7, 1846 was followed by the discovery of gold, which set off a great population migration, and accelerated state-hood for California in 1850; however, the Monterey Peninsula felt little of the radical effects of the gold rush and other events of the period. The early years, "...brought hardly any increase in population, built neither city nor village [and]...left [the] life and customs of the Spanish Californians almost undisturbed" (Johnston 2002: 7). The initial years of American rule brought the migration of Anglos, Chinese and other migrants to the San Francisco Bay Area during the Gold Rush of 1849, which greatly changed the social and political climate in the region. As gold mines became exhausted and discrimination policies prevented the Chinese population from mining, Anglo and Chinese migrants were left looking for work

elsewhere; thus, Monterey County, with work available in agriculture and fishing, attracted those in search of employment and residence in the 1850s (Seavey 1988).

Political changes in Monterey commenced and some provision had to be made to establish and maintain authority in California; therefore, Commodore Robert F. Stockton selected Chaplain Walter Colton as Alcalde at Monterey. During the Mexican period, ranching and fishing brought many migrants and immigrants to Monterey County for work and settlement as the economy ran at a slow, but steady pace for most. Colton's description of the Monterey district population at this time gives an insight into the diversity of the communities in the region. Colton describes, "my jurisdiction extends over an immense extent of territory, and over a most heterogeneous population. Almost every nation has, in some emigrant, a representative here—a representative of peculiar habits, virtues, and vices. Here is the reckless Californian, the half-wild Indian, the roving trapper of the West, the lawless Mexican, the licentious Spaniard, the scolding Englishman, the absconding Frenchman, the luckless Irishman, the plodding German, the adventurous Russian, and the discontented Mormon" (Colton 1859: 19). Such a diverse population remained throughout the Anglo period in Monterey County, as dramatic political, economic, and social transformations commenced and changed the rather quiet, sleepy region for the rest of its existence.

U.S. Possession of California: Anglos, Land, Spatial reconstruction of Community and Politics

The crucial changes that contributed to the separation of ethnic communities in Monterey County begin with the conquest and its aftermath, particularly with the

transformation of landownership under American government. In the conversion from Mexican to U.S sovereignty, *Californios* and the growing Anglo immigrant population confronted issues of ownership of the land. This period incorporated political changes that supported those with land entitlement and as landholding power shifted from Mexican to Anglo power in the 1870s, political changes followed that placed both Mexicans and Native Americans at a disadvantage (Walton 2001). Land ownership and property issues are significant to document the separation of minorities and segregation of ethnic communities into different spaces throughout Monterey County; therefore, a description of the history of land possession and contestation allows for examination of the ways by which Mexicans and other minorities eventually became politically subordinate and socially marginalized in Monterey County.

The latter half of the nineteenth century comprised of numerous tactics and negotiations intended to generate a new property regime in politics and society in California. A year after the U.S.-Mexico War ended and the gold mines became exhausted, numerous migrants who settled in California with hopes of prosperity were left with travelling debts and desperate to find employment (Anderson 2000). A number of migrants travelled to Monterey County to look for work and as a result, in the late 1860s, the population in Monterey County increased in ethnic diversity. The Chinese expanded the squid and abalone processing industry along the Monterey Peninsula, Italians began the sardine cannery industry along the coast, and Anglo migrants settled in Monterey County setting up shop in the towns of Monterey and Salinas while expanding ownership over businesses and property (Walton 2001).

As squatters made it apparent that people wanted land, issues in land property ownership initiated the Land Act of 1851 that legally abolished the Mexican land grant system in California. Furthermore, the act of 1862 gave Anglo settlers the right to claim land if they permanently resided on it with the intention of making improvements and initiating further development. In Monterey County, many Anglo pioneers desired ownership of the vast ranch lands in the Salinas region of the county while making their home in the prominent communities along the Monterey coastline. For example, a few prominent men, such as, Henry S. Ball and David Jacks lived along the Monterey Peninsula in the town of Pacific Grove, while owning land in Salinas (Barrows and Ingersoll 1893: 376). The Anglo domination of the private ownership of the best agriculture lands, access to cattle and sheep herds, as well as the established residential areas in Monterey County allowed these men access to membership in the same political and social institutions including the Monterey County Agricultural Society, Pacific Improvement Company, Monterey County Bar Association, Salinas Lodge, Native Sons of California, and the Board of Education in both Monterey and Salinas. With exclusive access to these institutions for Anglo males who owned property, as they were described as having a, "progressive spirit and interests in local development," prevented Mexicans, Native Americans and other minorities from participating in these institutions. Thus, Anglo males made crucial decisions for the organization of political, cultural, social, and economic sectors of Monterey County region with no input from minorities (Leese et al. 1910: 72). The marginalization of minorities would continue into the twentieth century

and exacerbate issues of poverty, discrimination, education, segregation, and ethnic relations in the county.

Where there were large concentrations of land, there were certainly large numbers of landless and their numbers increased in 1860s and 1870s as U.S. citizens sought public lands and life in the West. The U.S. land commission consisted of a board of three judges appointed to evaluate all land claims for confirmation of ownership, which was followed by a new land survey and land patent (Walton 2001: 114). In Monterey, public lands were limited due to the delineation of Mexican land grants being defended before the U.S. land commission just as new venture capitalists went after them. Mexican landowners found their lands being encroached on by businessmen as well as squatters and due to expenditures, long durations of trials, and poorly documented land claims, most of the landowners lost their lands to Anglo pioneers by the late 1880s. For example, a Scot named David Jacks purchased Rancho Chualar, a nine thousand acre ranch, from a Mexican grantee near Salinas and like many Salinas Valley ranches at the time, Chualar was indistinctly bordered, inadequately surveyed, and under-occupied, which led to a growing number of squatters who believed themselves to be entitled to settle on "government land" (Ibid). David Jacks was later nicknamed the "King of the West," due to the expansion of his estate to ninety thousand acres of ranch land and numerous city plots during the industrial period in Monterey County (Walton 2001: 43). The new property regime emerged on disputed terms where squatters and *Californios* persevered alongside successful monopolizers throughout the county.

The acquisition of thirty thousand acres of Monterey's familial rancho lands by David Jacks and Delos Ashley is an example of the new property regime that dominated Monterey County by the 1870s. Privatization of traditional common land and forests upset the moral economy regulating land use practices of old residents and the *Californio* population who were used to sharing communal lands and resources and respected the needs for subsistence of community members. Minorities that were accustomed to the practice of moral economy were criminalized as warnings of trespassing, squatting, and prohibition of resource attainment from the newly privatized lands in the county targeted Mexicans. The historical record confirms a pattern of criminalization in a spurt of notices in 1863 with accusations that, "you have trespassed and are still trespassing…and have committed waste by cutting trees and are still doing so" (Walton 2001: 132). These notices were addressed to Pedro Gonzales, John Myers, Eugenio Martinez, and Gracia Martinez with further warnings that "any buildings or improvements you may place on the lands will be forfeited" (Ibid 133). Acquisition of city lands entitled Jacks and Ashley to any town tracts lacking proof of ownership; thus, a large number of properties were obtained, given the informal deeds and casual records kept during the Mexican period. These land issues were never amended, and thus, contributed to the alienation of the *Californios* and Native Americans from the legal system as Jacks challenged the titles to many prime town lots and gradually took them up as his development of sale plans evolved (Walton 2001: 134). Also, by this time, the Native American population was severely devastated as they continued to suffer the majority of the marginalization in Monterey County.

ROOTS OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION: 1870-1900 IN MONTEREY COUNTY

The transition to American government and American society entailed changes in socioeconomic status as the expanding labor force became more polarized in the form of a large ethnic working class including Mexicans, Spaniards, Chinese, Italian, and Portuguese. Race, ethnicity, and national origin continued to influence social status, but these aspects of the population increasingly intersected with class, which was becoming a prominent indication of opportunity in Monterey County. As the last decades of the nineteenth century continued, animosity between and amongst economic classes exacerbated by political opportunism increased ethnic labor issues. In particular, the Chinese populations in Monterey County were denigrated, and discriminatory practices further segregated groups resulting in a destructive class society taking root in the region. The following table indicates the differences in occupational structure of the city of Monterey from 1850 to 1880:

Table 2. Occupational Structure, City of Monterey, 1850-1880

Occupation	Percentage	
	1850	1880
Professional	7	4
Merchant	13	3
Services	8	15
Artisan, skilled	24	23
Labor	9	40
Servant	2	10
Farmer	11	4
Soldier/Sailor	25	0
Housekeeper	0	33

Source: Walton 2001, p. 126; (Rounded percentages)

The table reveals the wide variety of jobs in 1850, with several well-represented job categories and little concentration besides the soldier/sailor occupation, which involved a variety of job services both in the garrison and in towns. By 1880, however, the labor force exhibits greater inequality and social divisions. Labor and servant categories comprise half of the employed while the upper-rank professional and merchant groups contain fewer persons in Monterey (Walton 2001: 125-126). Generally, the trend in wealth and social class structure during the late nineteenth century is less toward occupational diversity and more toward growing inequality as a result of the movements in land and capital markets that occurred during the American period in the county.

Consequently, a growing Anglo population and sharper economic divisions left most Mexicans, Native Americans, as well as certain Asian populations, such as the Chinese, at the bottom of the social order. A brief discussion of the court records in the county during this period reveals the trend of increasing discrimination against Mexicans and Native Americans throughout the region. Monterey County court records from 1868-1880 reveal that of more than six hundred inmates handled, ten percent were identified as Native American, which according to sociologist John Walton is probably an underestimate due to unknown Native American classification. The earlier court records describe the majority of the inmates as Mexicans or *mestizos*, as "dark" or "Sonoran" (Walton 2001:127). As the court records continue, descriptions of inmates fall into a light versus dark distinction to describe ethnicities of persons. Although most of the crimes

were minor, the sentencing procedures were racially mediated. For example, Native Americans automatically received "25 lashes" for their crimes while Anglos usually received fines or were put in jail for a period of days for similar crimes. In a few cases, all involving Native Americans or *mestizos*, prisoners were found, "hung in the jail yard…strangled in his cell" as victims of unknown culprits whose murders were rarely, if ever, solved (Ibid 128). As the shift in politics and socioeconomic organization of Monterey County continued into the 1880s, the criminalization of minorities increased and people of color increasingly found themselves pushed out of their homes and society.

As a result of the patterns of cultural change and social inequality a variety of conflicts, from social banditry and vigilantism to squatter movements and residential labor disputes erupted throughout Monterey County in the 1880s (Walton 2001: 117). Many of the protest movements along the peninsula exemplify the transformative struggle during the 1880s for the control of the city of Monterey and the city's potential for old timers and newcomers. Allied with the railroad interests, local business and civic groups organized a victorious struggle against land monopolists to incorporate the city, reinforce civic government, and develop Monterey as an elite resort while Salinas was becoming a prime agribusiness region. These protest movements consisted of old timer residents, the majority being Anglo American small-business owners who did not appreciate land-hungry individuals buying up land and keeping resources to themselves. Old-timer residents wanted to expand the railroad interests and develop Monterey into a resort location to bring in tourism revenue. In contrast to the land monopolization that readily occurred in the 1860s, the city government recast "King of the West," David

Jacks, as a hindrance to "progress" and began destruction of barriers that Jacks built around lots he claimed to own (Walton 2001: 121). The motivation for this shift was to see more town lots along the Monterey peninsula turned over to smallholders who would develop them. On the other hand, Monterey's poor and ethnic communities who could not afford to rebuild their homes up to the increasingly strict county standards and whose small businesses became bothersome and isolated from town interests did not share enthusiasm in the development movement of the region.

As a result of the visions of progress and new economic interests in Monterey County, the move toward town modernization, real estate development, and resort interests during the late nineteenth century initiated a campaign to rid the town of the poor throughout the peninsula. The early urban renewal movement took a toll on the Chinese and other ethnic communities along the coast as processes of gentrification forced many to leave their homes and find housing some place else. The features of the ethnic communities associated with the poor include "unsightly shanties, drying of fish and laundry, beggars," and other unattractive aspects of the city that might offend visitors (Walton 2001: 128). Among the taxes imposed by the new city government were licensing fees for mobile peddlers and laundries that were usually Chinese men conducting businesses on city streets. Penalizing fees, selective enforcement, and arrests were aimed at forcing these practices and individuals out of view (Monterey Peninsula Herald, 24 Feb. 1939). Furthermore, in the harshest attack on nuisance and poverty, the Monterey city government and property owners attempted to remove low-rent housing on the waterfront near the train station. The Herald explained, "Progress was defined by

orderly urban space: it means the obliteration of the shapeless adobes. It means good government, symmetrical architecture, graded streets, beautiful avenues, attractive lawns," in other words, a picture-perfect Anglo-American vision (Monterey Peninsula Herald 17 Aug. 1921). When the city disclosed the plans to clear the shanties that Portuguese and Italian fishing families had rented near the pier for the last twenty years, protests were mounted and dissenting petitions gathered. The question of where to house the urban poor persisted into the twentieth century when the policy of removal bore tragic results in the 1950s (see below) (Walton 2001).

As the working classes were pushed out of the increasingly "established" towns along the Monterey Peninsula, many ethnic peoples were left with little choice but to move to impoverished neighborhoods surrounding Monterey or move inward into the Salinas region. In the Salinas region during this period, development was also underway; however, development was mostly directed toward economic production rather than the real estate and resort building occurring along the peninsula. The rising nativist anti-Chinese movement in California in the 1880s further aggravated violence and attack on Chinese families and businesses throughout the peninsula with various cases of arson, beatings, and vandalism against the Chinese. Here, too, coercive measures met with resistance from the poor, including protest and arson; however, the protests were suppressed as the Anglo population grew and anti-immigrant sentiment ran rampant throughout the San Francisco Bay Area to Monterey County (Walton 2001: 132-34). Racism persisted and continued into the twentieth century as a variety of ethnic populations gradually increased in the region.

The control of Anglo possession of land and property as well as the dramatic shifts in society, culture, and community organization in the latter half of the nineteenth century in California led to multiple discrimination and segregation practices in the state. Nonetheless, despite harsh discrimination, communities formed, and for the most part, supported their own and attempted to improve their situations and found ways to defend themselves; however, their voices were to remain rather quiet for another forty years.

The American conquest in 1846 led to a transformation of California society and its history that changed the state into an industry-driven, for-profit land. The revolution began on the land where commercial investors used their sleight of hand and political influence to monopolize large properties to the detriment of *Californio* ranch owners, communal lands, and less proficient opportunists. The emerging administration of landownership and utilization was met with resistance by long-time resident common lands users, squatter, and unsatisfied outlaws (Walton 2001: 142). Even though elites largely overcame struggles over land and property, they depended on the growing and ethnically diverse working class for labor. The working class suffered exploitation and discrimination at the hands of Anglo elites; however, a number of ethnic enclaves that formed surrounding the central locations of development allowed for some to persevere and support their own. Also, as a result of the new investment in railroad construction in Monterey County, towns in the Salinas Valley and along the Monterey Peninsula finally began to prosper and a new middle class engaged in local commerce and service industries employed the large working class population and allowed for some socioeconomic mobility into the twentieth century.

INTO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: INDUSTRY AND COMMUNITY DIVISIONS IN MONTEREY COUNTY, 1900-1920

Monterey's twentieth century began where the nineteenth left off. Along the peninsula, a small group of boosters in business and government continued to push for economic growth, mostly in commerce and real estate. The larger working class pursued economic opportunity, particularly in the fishing and canning industries which led to a working class consisting of factory workers, fisherman, and support staff, including transport operatives, maintenance workers, and dockhands who repaired boats and cleaned nets (Walton 2001: 163-164). Industry along the peninsula continued with earlier racial and ethnic encounters of the diverse populations, incorporating Japanese, Italian, and Chinese fishing communities as well as some Mexican, Spanish, and Anglo members of the working class, each group usually working with and amongst themselves. Gender also became a fundamental factor in the division of labor as fishing consisted of all males while the domestic service sector and the packing industry employed females in separate quarters from males. All together, these divisions coincided with the spatial structure of the Monterey Peninsula. Ethnic working-class communities sprang up near the factories, around the harbor, and between commercial districts bordered by middle-class suburbs, which, then, merged into upper-class neighborhoods (Ibid 171-175). Also, by the early twentieth century, the majority of U.S. school boards, including Monterey County as it consisted of Anglo males who had significant property and businesses in the region, incorporated some form of institutionalized school segregation, which led to the maintenance of segregated communities (Walton 2001; Menchaca 1995: 59). School segregation targeted populations that were Asians, Native Americans, and Mexicans and

would come to the forefront of ethnic tensions in the courts in the 1960s. The beginning of the twentieth century set the stage for new social spaces that later became living places of Cannery Row, Old and New Monterey, and the suburban and upper-class neighborhoods of Pacific Grove and Carmel.

The key to these developments is rooted in the social divisions of the late nineteenth century and their connections with the growing industry in the twentieth century. Along the Monterey peninsula in the 1890s, there were frequent efforts by central commercial interests to clear the coast of "unattractive" low-income housing, ethnic businesses, "unsavory transients," and any other alleged stains of persons, practices, and infrastructure that threatened the urban renewal vision for development of "New Monterey" (Walton 2001: 176). For example, in 1890, attempts to ban squid drying, a regular practice by Chinese fisherman, at the Point Alones Chinese village on the New Monterey-Pacific Grove margin failed and was followed by harassment by the police, city license overseers, and rebellious citizens. Also, practices of social exclusion and marginalization persisting into the twentieth century met new obstacles, not the least of which was the determination of ethnic minorities to defend their social and economic position (Walton 2001: 177).

At the start of the twentieth century, the economic and political sectors of the Monterey Peninsula undertook a spirit of progressivism and a vision shared with the California government's focus on political and economic reform. Local groups dedicated to the "building up of a greater Monterey," included the Business Promotion Committee, The Board of Trade, the Merchants Association, and the Monterey Chamber of

Commerce and its affiliated Monterey Civic Club, which were put forward as acting in the interests of conventional cohesion (Walton 2001: 179). In terms of real estate, the Pacific Improvement Company introduced terms meant to limit standards and proceedings in property contracts that targeted racial minority groups in the 1890s. The restrictive terms affected further developments on all of the Pacific Improvement Company's properties while concentrating on the central location of Del Monte Forest due to its potential for resort development. An example of a standard deed from Del Rey Oaks specified, "No Mongolian, Hindus, Malays, Negroes, or Filipinos shall use or occupy any building on any lot, except that this covenant shall not prevent occupancy by domestic servants…No use or occupancy shall be made, or permitted by other than a person of the White or Caucasian race" (Walton 2001: 182). Similar restrictive covenants in the towns of Pacific Grove, Carmel, Pebble Beach, and portions of New Monterey were regularly administered to design the social landscape until 1948 when it decreased due to bans on such covenants in California (Ibid 183).

Although the anti-Chinese movement subsided by the 1900s, racism persisted and found a new target in California in the emergent Japanese community. Monterey's Japanese community was growing in 1900 as modernization programs in Japan's Meiji state after 1886 dislocated portions of the rural population while the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in California spurred the need for a steady stream of immigrant workers in the U.S (Walton 2001: 186). The Japanese community in Monterey gradually increased as people fulfilled jobs in agriculture and the railroad industry along the Salinas district and in the fishing, canning, and railroad business along the peninsula. The Monterey

Peninsula witnessed the initial rise in ethnic tensions in March 1904 when the Southern Pacific Railroad "discharged a number of Italians employed in the local section and put Japs in their places" (Monterey New Era, 16 Mar. 1904). In retaliation, Italian laborers caused a shack housing six Japanese workers to explode and burn, destroying the building and injuring the men inside. Moreover, Japanese-owned boats and Japanese canneries faced constant lawsuits from Italian fisherman in regards to fishing quotas and fishing territory (Conway 1962). As the canning industry was taking hold and employed many residents along the peninsula, discrimination policies against or limiting the employment of Asians brought forth the tensions many locals felt towards the Asian migrant and immigrant population. For instance, a local newspaper applauded policies that limited Asian employment in the canneries, expressing that, "The employment of Japanese in the cannery would be a distinct loss to Monterey, for the place carries at least fifty people on the payroll during the entire season," implying that Japanese were not part of the community (Monterey New Era, 14 Jun. 1905). Also, the communities along Point Alones, including Chinese, Japanese, and Italians were chosen as prime locations for real estate development and soon after the Pacific Improvement Company made plans for development in the area, the Chinese community was notified that their leases would end in three months with no opportunity of renewal. Reflecting popular opinion, the Monterey New Era exclaimed, "This is one of the best pieces of news we have heard for a long time. It not only means that an eyesore will be removed from one of the most beautiful and picturesque spots on the bayshore, but that a highly desirable residence tract will be opened" (Monterey New Era, 29 Nov. 1905). In response, the Chinese did not

budge when their three month notification ended, yet, a suspicious fire on May 16, 1906, destroying all but sixteen of more than one hundred buildings, left the Chinese community devastated and with little options left but to leave (Walton 2001).

The 1890s in the eastern part of the county, in the Salinas Valley, witnessed increasing innovation and variability in the agriculture sector that resulted in a stimulus in commerce throughout the valley. By 1877, experimentation in aqueduct and irrigation arrangements began to foster innovative methods in cultivation in Monterey County. By the mid 1880s, increased water supply and the availability of rapid transportation to markets increased the production of dairy commodities in the Salinas Valley (Johnston 2002). Furthermore, irrigation allowed for the development of the sugar beet industry in the valley, which was to become the next great agricultural advance in the region. In the late nineteenth century, the majority of the agriculture industry in the Salinas Valley was dominated by Claus Spreckels, who proposed construction of a major sugar beet processing plant in Salinas. Spreckels purchased large land plots for cheap and by 1898 enough farmers were willing to change from grain crops to beets to make Spreckels' promised plant a reality (Seavey 1988).

Salinas had a population of 2,339 in 1890 and was growing quickly. In the 1890s, the Monterey County Bank and the Salinas Mutual Building and Loan Association joined Salinas City Bank as principal financial institutions for the county. Despite, the national depression and a staggering drought in 1897-1898, Salinas continued to grow in anticipation of Claus Spreckels' proposed development of the world's largest sugar beet processing factory (Seavey 1988). In 1899 the plant was finally completed and put into

operation for the coming of the twentieth century. During the first decade, Salinas had grown over forty-seven percent to a population of over 5,000. Its economic foundation continued to be in agriculture; thus, as agribusiness became increasingly organized and refined, the attraction of potential employment in the business brought many to the valley throughout the beginning of the twentieth century. The following table provides a brief overview of the ethnic diversity and population numbers in Monterey County as counted by the U.S. census:

Table 3. Population by Race in Monterey County, 1910[2]

City/Area	Whites	African American	Asian American	Native Americans	Total
Alisal/Salinas	4,900	21	155	0	5,076
Bradley	442	0	0	0	442
Castroville	1,321	3	118	0	1,442
Cholame	484	1	0	0	485
Gonzales	1,267	2	36	0	1,305
King City	1,400	3	160	0	1,563
Monterey	6,361	59	394	19	6,833
Pacific Grove	2,334	27	23	0	2,384
Pajaro	1,229	1	531	4	1,765
Peachtree	476	0	2	0	478
Sal Antonio	790	1	9	14	814
San Ardo	363	0	2	0	365
Soledad	1,029	0	175	0	1,194
Total	22,377	118	1,614	37	24,146

Source: 1910 U.S. Census

Due to exclusionary policies, anti-Asian social climate, and increasing fees and penalties, many Asian migrants travelled over to the Salinas Valley to take part in the growing

[2] The Asian American group includes: 404 Chinese, 983 Japanese, 179 farm workers from India living in the cities of Gonzales, Soledad, and King City. Two Filipinos in Monterey. Whites include Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans.

agribusiness industry. In 1898 over two hundred Japanese workers, almost all males, came to Salinas to work for Claus Spreckels' sugar beet operation. That same year the Japanese Presbyterian Mission Hall was established to meet the social and cultural needs of this all male population and in 1905, the Salinas Japanese Association was formed to bring organization and unity to the immigrant community. Exceptional agriculturists, the Japanese thrived, some becoming farm owners, as they introduced celery and broccoli as well as the first strawberries in the Salinas Valley in 1911 (Seavey 1988: 3). Due to its ties to the land and a slow paced life in agribusiness, the Salinas valley seemed a better location for people of color as opposed to the Monterey Peninsula. Monterey quickly became seen as a tourist and resort attraction while boosters pushed for a symmetrical, picturesque, coastal town, which did not take likely to impoverished communities, specific cultural practices, and ethnic business. Therefore, Salinas seemed more welcoming to people of color who were excluded from society, the economy, and the new politics of the peninsula at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Chapter 2 Segregation, Discrimination, and Marginalization: Spatial Organization of Monterey County from 1920-1980

While the previous chapter outlined the foundation of the discrimination of minorities and ethnic tensions in Monterey County in the nineteenth century, the following chapter encapsulates the escalating developments in racial and ethnic discrimination and marginalization of racial and ethnic minorities that stemmed from those roots. Throughout Monterey County in the twentieth century, war, economic booms and depressions, civil rights and labor protests as well as increasingly interdependent social and political ties brought tensions in ethnic relations to their peaks and led to increasing distinct community separations between the Salinas Valley and the Monterey Peninsula.

POPULATION BOOM, IMMIGRATION POLICY, AND THE RAPID GROWTH OF MONTEREY COUNTY

The 1920s was an important decade in the U.S. in terms of immigration policy. Early in the decade, the Immigration Act of 1921 was passed to restrict immigration from Europe, but failed to do so; thus, a stricter numerical quota was passed in 1924. The Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 set forth numerical quotas on immigration from all countries outside of the Western Hemisphere, including Europe (Ngai 2004: 21-23). Quotas were set allowing immigrants from Western and Northern Europe to enter in large numbers. Immigrants from Germany and Great Britain were the preferred populations, while the immigration quotas were set very low for immigrants from Southern Europe and Eastern Europe, specifically Italy. Furthermore, total bans for Asian countries was carried out, and most other countries from the Eastern Hemisphere had a limit of around 100.

In addition to numerical restrictions, immigration regulation based on registration and fees changed during this period. Immigrants from the Western Hemisphere were allowed free entry; however, to regulate immigration from Mexico and Canada, immigrants were expected to register and pay a fee depending on their occupation. The following year, the Border Patrol was established along the U.S.-Mexico border to stop liquor contraband from Mexico and to stop undocumented migration from Asia and Europe into the U.S. Individuals from the Western Hemisphere who stipulated farm labor as their occupation were given temporary permits, but if they chose to remain in the U.S. they were to appear before an immigration center, register and pay a fee, which farm laborers could pay in installments (Menchaca 2011). Filipinos fell under the authority of separate laws in contrast to other Asians and those from the Western Hemisphere due to the fact that the Philippines were a colony of the U.S. Thus, as Nationals, Filipino immigrants were allowed to apply for U.S. citizenship; however, their position in society met with a rise in race riots and the advancement of the racialization of Filipinos in California communities which are discussed further later in this chapter. Once the Philippines were given independence in 1933, the following year, the Tydings-McDuffy Act decreed that Filipinos living in the U.S. were subject to deportation for "deportable acts" committed after May 1, 1934. *The Salinas Philippines Mail* called the Act, "a bait to entrap us…it restricts out liberty of action. We cannot send our products [into] American markets. We cannot come to the United States. We must stay home and slave to pay off principal and interest on bonds held by foreign capitalists" (Ngai 2004: 120).

Prior to the 1920s, Mexicans could enter the United States by paying a nickel for entrance and a legal residence visa; thus, the Mexican population consisted of U.S. citizens, legal residents, and undocumented residents. In the 1920s, it became increasingly difficult to attain citizenship or migrate legally to the United States for both Asians and Mexicans. By 1924, the Johnson-Reed Act, in addition to the Asian Exclusion Acts[3], and the National Origins Act[4], limited migration from any country at a cap of two percent and cut-off most Asian migration to the U.S. in the hopes of promoting immigration from the northern and western regions of Europe (Ngai 2004). The U.S. Congress' reasoning for the policies was, "In all its parts…to preserve the ideal of American homogeneity" (U.S. Department of the State Office of the Historian Retrieved 13 Sept. 2012). Shamelessly, the United States strived to pick and choose who could be a part of the country's society, based on race alone.

The decade of the 1920s was an important turning point in the history of Monterey County. During this period, the county's population exploded from around 28,000 to nearly 54,000 and initiated an era of rapid population growth that would continue to the present (U.S. Census Bureau, 1910; U.S. Census 1920; U.S. Census

[3] The first Chinese Exclusion was passed by U.S. Congress in 1882 in response to racial protest of Chinese immigrants in the U.S. It banned Chinese laborers from immigrating to the U.S. completely and declared Chinese to be ineligible for U.S. citizenship. This act was repealed in 1943. In 1907, in a diplomatic agreement with the U.S, Japan agreed to ban laborers from immigrating to the U.S., however, anti-Asian uprisings continued to pressure the U.S. government for Japanese exclusion. The 1924 Immigration Act completed Asiatic exclusion (Ngai 2004).

[4] Two major elements of American racial ideology emerged alongside racial restrictions for U.S. citizenship. These consisted of the legal definition of "white" and the "rule of racial unassimilability" The Nationality Act of 1790 granted the right to naturalized citizenship to "free white persons" and after the Civil War and the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, Congress extended the Nationality Act to extend the right to naturalize to "persons of African nativity or descent" (Ngai 1999: 73-74).

1930). Many factors contributed to this ongoing expansion and the following population table touches upon a few of those factors.

Table 4. Monterey County Population by Race, 1930[5]

City/Area	Whites	African American	Asian American	Native Americans	Mexicans	Total
Alisal/Salinas	11,783	32	2,896	4	1,049	15,764
Bradley	308	0	0	0	13	321
Castroville	2,487	3	309	0	307	3,106
Cholame	268	0	0	1	37	306
Gonzales	2,387	0	834	0	539	3,760
King City	2,653	4	40	4	184	2,885
Monterey	13,817	124	677	11	434	15,273
Pacific Grove	5,381	60	57	2	58	5,558
Pajaro	2,008	0	558	0	303	2,869
Peachtree	397	2	0	0	16	415
Sal Antonio	556	0	46	5	53	660
San Ardo	427	0	0	0	0	427
Soledad	2,012	0	346	0	3	2,361
Total	44,484	225	5,971	27	2,996	53,705

Source: U.S. Census 1930

From the 1920s to the 1930s, Monterey County experienced a large increase in both its African American and its Asian populations. During this time, African Americans were migrating in large numbers out of the southern states in search of new opportunities, and Monterey County's new African American population residents included some of those migrants (Walton 2001). The majority of the increase in the Asian population at this time consisted of new Japanese immigrants to the county with about half settling in the Monterey region despite increasing racism towards the Japanese

[5] Asian American Include 629 Chinese, 2, 189 Japanese, 3,153 Filipinos, and 2 Koreans. Mexican category includes only persons born in Mexico or whose parents were born in Mexico. (U.S. Census 1930; Ancestry.com)

along the peninsula and the other half settling in rural areas in the Salinas Valley to participate in the agriculture industry (Ibid). The previous table also reveals that during this time, an expansion of the Filipino population as the third Asian group to migrate and settle in Monterey County. Furthermore, the table reveals the devastating effects of colonial expansion on the Native American population by this time. The Native American population in all of Monterey County in 1920 is recorded at a total of six from the estimation of over 7,000 before the colonial conquest. The massive decline in population was a result of a combination of the colonial practices of land and resource privatization as well as the marginalization, genocide, and cultural suppression of the Native American population throughout the county.

By the 1920s, it was already clear that the Salinas River watershed could support an exceptionally productive and diverse agricultural industry, but realizing this potential would require a large supply of seasonal workers to work the fields in specialty crop production. In response to this need and due to civic uprisings in Mexico[6], the previous table reveals that the Mexican population poured into the rural areas of Monterey County during the 1920s. Although the U.S. immigration bans by the 1920s excluded most Asiatic migration and made them ineligible for citizenship, farm labor allowed for marginalized Asian populations to attain work. Thus, at the start of the 1930s, a labor force consisting of Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, and Mexican peoples were working the fields of the Salinas Valley and in fishing and canning along the Monterey Peninsula in

[6] In 1910, the Mexican Revolution began in pursuit of reorganization of society and economy of Mexico. The social chaos, turmoil of war, and economic collapse during the Mexican Revolution caused many Mexican immigrants to head north to the U.S. More than 890,000 Mexicans migrated to the U.S. legally during 1910-1920 with many more entering the U.S. without registering (Massey et al. 2002).

the county. The population explosion that occurred during the 1920s continued into 1930s despite the Great Depression and its aftermath, due to the success of a diverse agriculture industry that responded well to the fluctuating local and international markets as well as to the rise in demand for specialty crops such as fruit, nuts, and vegetables (Palerm 2002). The success of the industry was crucial for economic survival during the 1930s and kept migration to Monterey County, and all of California consistent. Especially noteworthy is the growth of the Alisal/Salinas area, which grew by 80 percent from 1930 to 1940, with Salinas emerging as the central location of a strong agribusiness region for the entire state (U.S. Census Bureau, 1930; U.S. Census, 1940).

In 1930, for the first time, the U.S. Census Bureau counted the Mexican population as a separate ethnic group and recorded 3,000 Mexicans mostly distributed across rural areas of the Salinas Valley in Monterey County (Walton 2001). In 1929 when the stock market crashed, anti-immigrant campaigns erupted throughout the U.S. That same year the U.S. government, coinciding with previous immigration restriction policies, drastically restricted visas on migration from Mexico. In the 1930s, with a large immigrant and citizen population in the U.S, Mexicans became the target of anti-immigrant campaigns at the national, state, and local levels stemming from alleged accusations of immigrants stealing jobs from citizens at a time when work was needed most. The U.S. government undertook a deportation program that led to the deportation to Mexico of about one million Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, whether undocumented residents, legal residents, or U.S. citizens (Balderrama and Rodriguez 2006). In the Salinas Valley, which contained a significant Mexican population, growers,

reluctant to lose a sufficient labor force, took part in sustaining an agricultural labor force and protected the workers from deportation. Thus, throughout California it was uncommon for Mexicans to undergo deportations in agricultural regions, as the target were Mexicans in metropolitan locations (Samora 1971). This trend unfolds over the next decades and into the present. Given Monterey's history as a Mexican district, its close proximity to Mexico, Mexican cultural patterns, and political and social ties that extend from California to Mexico, migrants will move back and forth between Mexico and Monterey County as economic and political conditions fluctuate and deep-rooted social networks bring kin and townspeople to the region.

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE FISHING INDUSTRY AND RESULTING EFFECTS ON COMMUNITIES IN MONTEREY, 1900-1950

As specialty crops were launched in the Salinas Valley, the sardine industry generated all of the economic and social vigor on the Monterey Peninsula during the first half of the twentieth century. The sardine fishing and canning industry, which lasted from 1900 to 1950 developed into the "Cannery Row," that is such a renowned characteristic of Monterey history of tradition today. The fish industry was socially complex and that complexity permeated each sector of the fishing trade. Social and kinship ties were customary in the business, following employment and opportunity from prosperous cannery ownership to migratory cannery work. Most of the fishermen were Sicilian or Italian, Japanese, Portuguese and Spanish who had been in the U.S. for years, though had not naturalized, and who had formed close-knit family, language, cultural, and ethnic groups. Cannery workers were much more diverse in terms of ethnicity,

gender, and immigration status. Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, and a few African Americans, the majority being U.S. citizens, worked in the canneries while women from all groups worked as packers in the factories. Anglo American men dominated in ownership of the businesses in the fishing industry, as well as in high status and year-round jobs on the peninsula (Walton 2001).

As environmental organizations, such as the California Fish and Game Division, set limits on fishing, canning products, and promoted warnings of overfishing, pressure for stable work in the industry created concerns for peninsula residents. Either as a result of overfishing, tide and temperature differences, changes in species life cycles, or a combination of the causes, the sardine catch was reduced from over 200,000 tons in the 1930s to 2,000 tons by 1960 (Walton 2001: 191). After World War II, the peninsula economy, including the fishing business, experienced a devastating slump and collapsed during the 1950s with poor yields and massive plant closings in the sardine trade as well as in property sales to rescue companies and real estate firms (Ibid 194).

Despite the cooperative labor in the canneries, the fall of the fishing industry and war times brought about increasing ethnic consciousness and affiliations along the peninsula resulting in a "campaign of intolerance" in the mid twentieth century. Also, as a result of efforts to pick up a slow-moving economy, the 1940s along the Monterey peninsula brought broad-based efforts of city planning and landscape design that combined historical preservation, commercial activity, and public access, initiating the first period of urban renewal in the region (Walton 2001: 220-21) The initial movement for progressivism that began at the end of the nineteenth century along the Monterey

peninsula was revived during the 1940s with indirect and direct methods to make impoverished minority communities feel unwelcome and isolated from the rest of the population in schools, politics, community, and the economy. Strategies for pushing low-income residents from their neighborhoods along the coast consisted of humiliation and denigration in society and the promotion of a new public image. For example, the Monterey newspaper featured a "shack of the month" section to embarrass owners into renovation or demolition regardless of their economic means (Walton 2001: 228).

The strategic movements to rid the peninsula of the impoverished minority communities would continue into the 1970s, and are discussed in more detail later in the chapter. What is important to note at this point is that while a campaign to rid the coast of the poor was underway, the agribusiness in the Salinas Valley continued to flourish and required, even demanded, immigrant labor to fulfill the increasing labor needs in the fields. Thus, immigrants who were increasingly unwelcome on the Monterey coastline sought more opportunities for work and residence in the eastern cities of Monterey County.

URBAN RENEWAL ALONG THE MONTEREY PENINSULA: PUSHING "UNDESIRABLES" OUT

When the sardine canning industry along the Monterey Peninsula declined in the 1950s, the surrounding populations were left in a scramble for employment. Throughout the era of success of the fishing industry, ethnic enclaves grew throughout the coastal region, with increasing Italians, Chinese, and Japanese forming ethnic neighborhoods that were fully aware of one another, but described as "socially segregated" (Walton 2001:

190). At the same time, the peninsula was undergoing processes of urban renewal, which quickly pitted the substantial business community and one faction of city government against loosely allied coalitions of low-income residents, small business owners, and other factions of local government (Walton 2001: 244). As the post-World War II era brought a slump and decline to the fishing industry along the peninsula, increasing grievances, especially by city boosters, noted the "infiltration of undesirables" that caused a "resultant effect upon property values, morals, and welfare of the city" along the coast (Ibid 227-28). Members of real estate groups, city planners, and factions of city governments called meetings to discuss the issues of housing, property values, neighborhood reconstruction with such sentiments regarding "low rents that meant Pacific Grove was becoming a dumping ground for relief clients coming from such de'classe parts as Salinas" (Walton 2001: 228).

Soon, struggles between real estate boosters, sectors of city governments, and the working class began to emerge in the peninsula; thus, the Urban Renewal Agency was established in 1962 and, soon after its formation, began condemnation proceedings in central areas deemed necessary for development soon after its formation (Walton 2001: 244). Although the majority of residents accepted condemnation outcomes and moved either east toward Salinas or to less-established areas on the peninsula to seek housing and work, some residents continued to struggle to stay in their communities. Opposition to the condemnations included political activism, attempts to amend planning and implementation decisions, as well as litigation against real estate and the Urban Renewal Agency for property losses (Ibid 247). Although some resistance delayed development

and eviction of some minorities in the region, eventually real estate developers prevailed and development throughout the coast persisted.

Urban renewal bolstered the political atmosphere and spatial design for Monterey's shift to a new service economy geared toward tourism and entertainment along the coast. Thus, ethnic minorities were pushed to pick up and move somewhere affordable, some moving to the nearby rural towns of Marina and Seaside; however homes in these towns were usually in limited supply or reserved for military personnel of the nearby military base, Fort Ord. Due to increasing limitations on the Monterey Peninsula, many moved north to the San Francisco Bay area or east toward the Salinas Valley. As minorities and the working class were being pushed out of their communities, the planning processes for the growing tourist industry and ecological preservation incorporated the re-creation of a different sense of local history. Downtown Monterey became a new space of historic re-creation focused on the "amount of history" that occurred in the region rather than the coastal, working-class town that had deep foundations in the region for most of its existence (Walton 2001: 249). The Monterey Peninsula no longer welcomed those believed to taint the modernized, ecological paradise that local boosters attempted to bring to the region.

POINTS OF TRANSFORMATIONS, LABOR TIES, AND THE RISE OF THE SALAD BOWL OF AMERICA IN THE SALINAS VALLEY IN THE 1930S

The ongoing real estate and tourism boom along the Monterey Peninsula led to constant prejudice and discrimination against Asians and Mexicans in the region. At the same time, the irrigation and technological innovations and the completion of the

regional railroad line through Salinas allowed for increased labor demand, especially in the development of large-scale production of fruits and vegetables for U.S. and international consumption. Until World War I, grains and sugar beets were the dominant crops in the Salinas Valley; however, in the 1920s, acres were planted with specialty crops such as lettuce, strawberries, celery, and broccoli. After World War I, agribusiness was ready to boom, but the construction of Mexicans as an illegal and illegitimate foreign presence in their former homeland played a key role in the reorganization of the agricultural labor market in the 1920s. The development of commercial agriculture required the creation of a migratory labor force as well as a distancing of Mexicans from Anglo-Americans, both culturally and spatially. This creation of Mexicans as the "other" served to detach Mexicans from their claims of belonging. Thus, Mexicans were an ideal fit for the necessary migratory labor in the fields during which bans on immigration from Asian countries posed shortages in manual labor in the fields. The agriculture industry that was developing in the Salinas Valley, which is unique to many large-scale California farms today, required a non-mechanized, cheap, plentiful, and seasonal labor force due to the delicacy and particular methods to grow and harvest fruits, such as strawberries, avocadoes, and grapes and vegetables such as broccoli, asparagus, and the "green gold" or, gourmet lettuce. These crops require manual dexterity and complex, sophisticated techniques to grow, maintain, and harvest throughout growing and harvesting seasons, which machines cannot reproduce efficiently and successfully (Palerm 1991: 14). Anglo Americans and recent European immigrants, for the most part, were not resolutely against work in the fields, but higher wages could be found in other industries, to which they had

exclusive access (Wells 1996). Furthermore, many Anglos viewed farm labor as undignified due to connections made to the Asian populations that had worked on California farm fields for the majority of the establishment of the agribusiness industry.

Monterey County had the highest proportion of Asian Americans, most of Japanese ancestry, of any city or county in the country, and together, Japanese-Americans and Mexicans, who were seldom U.S. citizens during the 1920s and 30s, made up the majority of the field labor in the Salinas Valley (Seavey 1988: 4). The Chinese, Japanese, and Asian Indian migrants made up the foundation of agricultural labor on the West Coast from the late nineteenth century to the 1910s, so when the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 cut off most Asiatic immigration, a dilemma regarding sufficient labor in the "factories in the fields," was imminent (McWilliams 1939).

When Asiatic migration from China and Japan was cut off by 1924, Mexican Americans, Mexican migrants, and Filipino migrants began replacing Asian laborers in the fields in the late 1920s. The combination of policies and economic conditions constructed Mexicans and Filipinos working in the U.S. as an alien race and made their exclusion from political and social arenas justified. Mexicans were able to enter the U.S. legally for a registration fee, while Filipinos, as part of the colonial jurisdiction of the U.S. did not suffer the impact of the Asian exclusion laws in the 1920s. By 1933 however, Filipinos were placed under immigration restrictions and felt the affects of racial discrimination and invisibility. The exclusion of immigrants and minorities in legislation, especially that which concerned working conditions, wages, and discrimination laws led to a number of protests throughout the 1930s which increased as

the Filipino population in Monterey County grew larger.

Filipinos made up the majority of the agricultural labor force in the production of asparagus, lettuce, and other crops in California in the 1930s. During the Great Depression and the exodus of Midwesterners to the West, Anglo migrants settled in the Alisal area to the east of Salinas, living in camps and trailers, and working in the agricultural industry alongside the Filipino and Mexican laborers. The arrival of Midwesterners and the growth of labor camps throughout the valley concerned many local residents who worried that such camps were easy targets for activists, Communists, and were potential locations for "disease" (Salinas Public Library 2010). In an effort to eliminate the camps, Monterey County supervisors established ordinances that gave the government authority to regulate sanitary conditions and oversee labor camps and private labor camps.

As the U.S. arranged for the increased import of Filipino immigrants to fill labor needs in agriculture, Anglo migrant farmworkers who traditionally worked in the fig and apple harvests in the Pajaro Valley regarded the increase in the number of Filipinos in the Salinas Valley's lettuce fields with uneasiness and distrust. The Filipino newspaper of Salinas, *The Torch*, responded to anti-Filipino sentiment by expressing that Filipinos had respectable, hardworking jobs to carry out in the fields and were necessary parts of agriculture production in the valley. For example, *The Torch* expressed that, "the lettuce is a new product in the Salinas Valley. No white men thinned lettuce before the Filipino. Work in the lettuce fields is very hard" (Ngai 2004: 108). The majority of the protests in the 1930s involved wage disputes and strikes regarding labor conditions in farm work as

ethnic tensions intensified in Monterey County. For example, in 1928, spurred by racial tension and unfair labor practices in the agribusiness, Filipino farm laborers working in asparagus and lettuce fields in the Salinas Valley struck to protest a wage reduction from 40 cents an hour to 35 cents an hour following a trend of ethnic labor organizations forming in areas of Filipino concentration in California. Despite Filipino's efforts for wage inequality, between 1929 and 1936, anti-Filipino sentiment found violent expression and racial violence against Filipinos took many forms, from beatings to hangings. As reported by another local Filipino newspaper, the *Philippines Mail*, violence against Filipino laborers on the streets and raids in the labor camps were frequent and devastated the Filipino community (Kousser 1992: 27). In 1933, the U.S. gave the Philippines its independence, which in turn changed the legal status of Filipinos planning to reside in the United States. Filipino migration was restricted and they were no longer eligible for U.S. citizenship. Giving the Philippines independence was a strategic U.S. congressional move to curve down immigration and place Filipinos under the same laws affecting other Asian groups.

In 1936, a large strike, named the Salinas Lettuce Strike, erupted in the Salinas Valley as 3,200 members of the Fruit and Vegetable Workers Union walked out of the Salinas-Watsonville lettuce sheds. The *Philippines Mail* reported that a Filipino worker was a casualty of the first day on September 4 as violence and disorder, described by the Sherriff as, "beyond the ability of the regularly constituted law enforcement agencies," erupted in the streets (Salinas Public Library 2010). The protest went on for two months and resulted in growers eventually offering lettuce workers a five-cent increase in wages,

neglecting the union preferences for lettuce workers in the sheds. Nonetheless, the protest caused disruptions that isolated farm owners and farmworkers from each other, resulting in distinct socioeconomic relations with one another. Furthermore, the movements during the 1930s initiated protests in the fields that would speak to a larger audience in the movements throughout the 1960s, with Cesar Chavez heading the movement for farmworker rights in California.

1940-1965: Discrimination Policy, War, and the Burgeoning of Mexican Labor in California Agriculture

The 1940s brought an intensified set of tensions between ethnicities, races, and classes throughout Monterey County as World War II began. Signed by President Roosevelt on February 19, 1942, Executive Order 9066 allowed for the removal and containment of the Japanese population along the coast. Japanese internment placed a little less than 4,000 Japanese Americans from the Monterey Peninsula, Watsonville, Salinas, Gilroy, and San Benito County in the Salinas Rodeo Grounds before being transferred to interment camps further inland (Monterey County Historical Society 2003). Also during this period, the Monterey Bay garrison of Fort Ord expanded into a training facility for soldiers and brought many African American and Filipino soldiers and their families to the less desirable coastal communities of Marina and Seaside living alongside squatters, mostly Anglo, and a few minorities. Along with an increase in diversity in population along the coast, the establishment of the Bracero Program during the war brought Mexican migrants to the Salinas Valley, where agriculture continued to flourish, for temporary employment for the war effort. The outcome of the increase in minority

populations brought issues of practices in racial discrimination in housing and economic institutions to the forefront.

HOUSING DISCRIMINATION POLICIES: 1940-1960S

As the Monterey Peninsula continued to focus on real estate development, suburban planning, and resort attractions, the spaces made available for occupation by low-income residents, including many minorities, became increasingly limited. Furthermore, the boom in immigrants and migrants, Anglo, Mexican, and Filipino caused issues for local residents as the labor camps and impoverished communities began to pop up throughout the valley. Monterey council board members utilized the phrase "restrictive covenants" to describe prequalifications for renting or owning a home within the first half of the twentieth century in the county; yet, this phrase just touches the surface of the frequency of racism permeating the housing industry and the devastating consequences that resulted from housing segregation in Monterey County through the early 1960s. Advertisements in the newspapers from the 1940s exemplify the segregation and discrimination based on race and ethnicity in housing in the region. "Restrictions" mentioned usually referred to prohibition of non-Anglos in certain neighborhoods as shown by scattered ads that noted that there were "No race restrictions" on particular properties. Also, revealed by the variety of realtors that placed housing advertisements in the numerous Monterey County newspapers, race restrictions reflect a general practice during this period, as shown in Figure 6 below.

Figure 6: Real Estate Ads from Local Monterey County Newspapers, 1943-1951

1. 4-room stucco house in the "Graves district" with "**No race restrictions**." Williamson Realty Co. (SC, April 9, 1943, 10)
2. "Ultra Modern 5-room Home. This home is nicely situated near Salinas in finest restricted section." Williamson Realty Co. (SC, Dec. 14, 1943, 11)
3. "In Acacia Park . . . Restricted area cross from High School property assuring increased values." (SC, April 11, 1945, 9)
4. "Boronda District. $3750.00. Small down payment. 4 room furnished house, garage, pressure system water supply. **Mexicans or Filipinos can buy**."57 (SC, Sept. 21, 1945, 13)
5. "La Selva Beach on Mont Bay . . . Sensibly Restricted." (SC, May 13, 1946, 15)
6. "Wanted — **Colored** — A few trailers for rent. Also room. New select **colored colony in Seaside**." (DPH, Oct. 10, 1946, 14)
7. "Distress Sale — this is no Seaside junk, but a well built 2 bedroom home in a very good dist in East Monterey, built by a reputable contractor and just 5 years old. **All white people around** . . . Less than $6000." (DPH, March 22, 1947, 10)
8. "Attention. Lots to be subdivided. **No race restrictions to Filipinos, Chinese or Mexicans** and "$6000 3 bedroom house . . . **Suitable for any nationality**." S.M. Sabio, realtor, Salinas (SC, Sept. 1, 1947, 10)
9. "Plan for real Living at Beautiful Mission Park" — a full page ad w/ a map. "**The same restrictions will prevail here as in any other high class subdivision in the city [Salinas], racial restrictions,** etc." (SC, Dec. 6, 1947, 12; March 12, 1948, 3)
10. "Beautiful Salinas Valley . . . Do you want Good Neighbors? You will find some of the best people living here or with the intention of building. As this subdivision is restricted you will always be protected."64 A.V. Rianda, Jr., Realtor (SC, June 2, 1951, 11)

Source: Kousser 2000: 49-51.

Race restrictions in housing practices caused protests in all of California as well as Monterey County; yet the notable increase in minorities in farm labor and the resulting farm labor camps during the Bracero Program, exacerbated issues amongst minorities, immigrants, migrants, and Anglo populations alike.

THE BRACERO PROGRAM AND FARMWORKER HOUSING

Faced with potential increases in food shortages both at home and overseas during the onset of World War II, the U.S. government required U.S. growers to increase their

food production for the war effort. Agricultural lobbyists responded with demands for the government to devise a guest worker program due to shortages in the male labor force due to military drafts for the war, which lobbyists argued made the farmers susceptible to picketing (Kousser 2000). Thus, on August 4, 1942, Agricultural Labor Law No. 45 passed and carried out the arrangements for a temporary workers' program. At the same time, the American Farm Bureau Federation, along with other agencies, succeeded in excluding American farm labor from the National Labor Relations Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, and several unemployment compensation laws. As a result, farm workers were not allowed to unionize and were excluded from minimum wage laws as well as from child labor laws (Menchaca 1995). As the war continued, the U.S. government justified its labor policy by asserting that bracero workers had to be placed on large farms with extensive crop productions for the war effort so that their labor benefited the country the most. Regardless of the government rationalization of imported labor, cities that underwent a rapid rise in Mexican peoples during this period due to the Bracero Program, were generally hostile towards the incoming Mexican population. Ethnic tensions emerged throughout the Southwest, particularly in the fast-growing, agriculture-rich areas such as the Salinas Valley.

When World War II ended, bracero migrants were still recruited to work on large-scale farms, regardless of the fact that mass crop production was no longer needed for the war effort (Galarza 1964; Mason 1969). Also, large-scale farms were continuing to transition to production of low-cost vegetables, such as potatoes, sugar beets, citrus, and string beans, to high-profit, labor-intensive crops such as mushrooms, broccoli, lettuce,

strawberries, and tomatoes (Palerm 1989). At the same time, the regular practice of recruitment of undocumented workers in the agriculture industry dramatically increased during and after the Bracero Program officially ended in 1964. Growers continued to utilize undocumented labor because it was "cheaper and involved no bureaucratic delays" (Ngai 2004: 152). The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) also continued their tradition of pursuing a "policy of moderation" in regard to undocumented immigrants in agribusiness, meaning although undocumented farm workers were apprehended, mass immigration raids were not of priority (Ibid). Eventually, in 1950, the INS felt pressure to control undocumented immigration; thus, raids within Mexican neighborhoods as well as farms in California erupted in the 1950s. Following his belief that growers who were traditionally using undocumented labor on the farms would participate in the Bracero Program if deprived of undocumented labor, commissioner general of the INS, Joseph M. Swing, began the execution of "Operation Wetback," a vast enforcement attempt targeting undocumented farmworkers throughout the Southwest for deportation (Ngai 2004: 155). Hundreds of thousands of undocumented migrants, Mexican Americans, and permanent residents were detained and deported to Mexico. The Salinas Valley was a prime target for raids on farm labor camps with thousands of "Mexican looking" peoples undergoing deportation to Mexico. At the same time, the bracero program continued, and thousands of agricultural workers were imported to work on U.S. fields. After the majority of the raids subsided in 1955, a peak in bracero employment in agriculture brought grower support to build more bracero labor camps outside of Salinas.

During the Bracero Program, regardless of civil federal and state codes, sufficient and decent farmworker housing usually failed to be provided by many farm growers in all of California. For example, in Monterey County, much of the farm worker housing that was provided was described as created from "barns, tool sheds, and even chicken coops and packing sheds" (Kousser 2000: 54). In addition to poor construction and conditions, there were inadequate heating systems, and reports of deaths of migrants due to fires or gas fumes in attempts to heat their living quarters occurred more than once. From the 1940s on, some migrants were housed in tents deemed suitable by the federal Farm Security Administration and later by the Monterey County Planning Commission (Ibid 55). By 1956, there were 220 labor camps in Monterey County, most housing men without families and, according to State Health Department inspector Harold W. Douglas, "about 90%" of the camps housing Mexican nationals. Labor camps in the city of Salinas alone had a capacity of nearly 4000 people, few with adequate living conditions. Despite the continual growth of migrant populations during the war, elected officials and voters opposed efforts to establish public housing for agricultural workers. In 1959, voters turned down a proposal to authorize a low-rent housing project in Alisal/Salinas by more than 4 to1 (Kousser 2000: 54). In the Salinas Valley town of Soledad, health inspectors closed a private labor camp after a man choked to death. The camp had "very dirty" bunkhouses, toilets, and showers, broken windows, urine-stained mattresses, and unhygienic food quarters. Nonetheless, Soledad Mayor Peverini refused to appropriate federal money to build new housing because according to him, it would "discourage private enterprise" (Ibid 55).

Instead of planning adequate housing for the bracero migrants, pressure from local homeowners and residents prompted Monterey County planners to agree not to position camps too close to residential areas. For example, the County granted a permit to establish a camp across a cattle feed yard and according to the *Salinas Californian*, "Planners considered offensive odors and flies which might emanate from the feed yard, then stipulated that screens be part of the building's accessories" (Kousser 2000: 56). Another site that the planners approved for the future was on top of the current Salinas city dump (Ibid: 57). Thus, braceros and other migrants were marginalized and placed in the corners of the city, residing in very unhealthy living conditions, far from the vibrant community life of the Salinas Valley.

Residents were both aware of, and concerned with, the problem of housing discrimination against minorities as well as the numerous issues in farmworker housing, especially in Salinas, where the minority population was increasing rapidly. The following announcement indicates the concern and need to address housing discrimination:

> Salinas residents concerned with the problem of housing racial minorities have been invited to attend a meeting on the subject at 8 p.m. Monday at the Girl Scout house in Carmel…The other part of the program will be an address by Edward Howden of San Francisco on the subject of restrictions in property deeds directed at racial minorities. Election of officers and adoption of by-laws also will take place…Realtors especially are urged to attend and join the discussion on the controversial minority housing problem, according to Mrs. Joseph Schoeninger, secretary (Kousser 2000: 24).

In response to mounting protests over the housing racial restrictions in Monterey County and other regions in California, the California legislature passed antidiscrimination acts in

1959 and later the Rumford Act in 1963.[7] The laws made it illegal to practice housing discrimination based on race, religion, sex, martial status, national origin, or ancestry (Ngai 2004). The Rumford Act caused uproars in many communities in California and cities in Monterey County were not exception. For example, a writer to the *Salinas Californian* exclaimed his discontent and bewilderment stated, "how in hell that pack of idiots in Sacramento ever permitted such a farce as the Rumford act to become law in the first place. Was it because Rumford is colored?…Do we fear public opinion and world opinion so much that we must force a 'Civil rights' bill and a disgusting 'Housing Bill' down the throats of the American people? (Kousser 2000). Such attitudes were shared throughout the Monterey County communities, especially amongst the Anglo population.

In 1964, proponents of discrimination put Proposition 14 on the ballot, which proposed amendments to the California Constitution and the overturn of the Rumford Act. Monterey County voters, a set of residents that met specific residency and language qualifications, voted for Proposition 14 by a margin of 58 percent to 42 percent, a this outcome was further supported by a majority of voters across California. Thus, the Rumford Act was overturned and housing discrimination in California was legal once again. After a period of legal discrimination in housing throughout California, the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited discrimination based on color, race, religion, and national origin in numerous public domains. Furthermore, in 1967, the California Supreme Court

[7] Edmund G. Brown, a liberal Catholic, became governor on September 18, 1959. Soon thereafter, the 1959 Civil Rights Act prohibiting discrimination in public accommodations and business transactions was passed, including real estate negotiations. Furthermore, the Fair Employment Practices Act of 1959 which forbade discriminatory workplace practices was passed (Schiesei 2003: 1-21).

ruled Proposition 14 unconstitutional, and in 1968 the U.S. Congress passed the Fair Housing Act, which outlawed housing discrimination in the U.S. (Kousser 2000). By then, neighborhoods in Monterey County were considerably segregated, particularly along the Monterey Peninsula. Those segregation practices were carried over into other public spheres. For example, in 1968, a consultant for the Planning Department of the City of Monterey, reported that neighborhoods were so segregated that school integration in the Monterey Peninsula School District was an "almost insurmountable" task (Kousser 2000). Although the Supreme Court ruled school segregation unconstitutional in 1954 with *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, racially segregated public schools persisted in California. School segregation that was undisputable result of racial discrimination practices in housing will be discussed later in the chapter.

EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION IN MONTEREY COUNTY IN THE 1940S

In addition to residential and social discrimination, employment discrimination in Monterey County continued throughout its establishment as a tourist and resort attraction in the 1960s. Monterey County had established a tradition of employment discrimination for most of its history. This tradition was going strong in the first half of the twentieth century, as is shown by the following 1930s employment advertisements in local newspapers, which give a sense of marginalization in the workplace.

Figure 7. Employment Advertisements in Local Newspapers in the 1930s

> "Help Wanted -- Experienced colored woman for general housework" (Salinas Index-Journal, July 7, 1936, 7-8)
> "Wanted -- Japanese housemaid" (DPH, March 15, 1938, 2)
> "Wanted -- Combination woman. Must be experienced, white" (DPH, April 12, 1939, 10)
> "Help wanted -- White woman for housework in Carmel Woods" (DPH, March 14, 1938, 2)
> "Reliable 'white man' to do your complete housecleaning or yard." (DPH, June 14, 1938, 10; June 20, 1938, 8*)*
>
> Source: Kousser 2000, p. 28

These racially-permeated advertisements coincide with a report in 1968, in which a consultant to the Planning Department of the City of Monterey revealed that, "Within the last few months (for the first time) two Negro waitresses were employed in Monterey restaurants – one, part time, according to the Department of Employment" (Kousser 2000: 33). The 1968 report suggests that conditions that shaped the ethnic and racially specific employment ads from the 1930s persevered into the second half of the twentieth century (Ibid). Jobs in farm labor, regarded as undignified by the majority of the population at this time, and work in domestic services were some of the only jobs left attainable for the Asian and Mexican population in the County.

In the political sphere, Monterey County voters and the majority of California supported the right to practice racial discrimination in the area of employment further limiting the jobs made available to people of color in Monterey County in the 1940s. For example, in 1945, political officials, including California Governor Earl Warren, a republican, began drawing up an initiative banning discrimination in employment practices, while coalitions throughout the major cities of the state campaigned for the support for the initiative. Proposition 11, as it was called, was put on the ballot for the

1946 general election and California voters were asked to decide if the state should outlaw discrimination based on race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry in employment practices (Chen et al. 2008). The initiative set off controversy and debate throughout the state. The proposition held that employment without discrimination was a, "civil and constitutional right," and went on to outlaw discrimination in various employment institutions while supporting the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission to enforce the law (Ibid 2008). The statewide black newspaper, the *California Eagle*, wrote that the initiative would, "…be a salvation…a gate opening into a Paradise of freedom from the hell of discrimination practices against Negroes, Catholics, Mexicans, and others for so many years" (Chen et al. 2008). On the other hand, employers warned that a state commission established by Proposition 11 would allow racial minorities to take jobs away from hard-working Americans: "anybody believing himself held back by his color, his race, his religion, his national origins, or his ancestry needs only to complain. The commission would force him into your job"(Ibid 2008, p. 18). That minorities were not considered "true Americans" deserving fair employment and civil rights reveals the support of marginalization of minorities in communities throughout California.

Accusations job stealing by migrants in combination with beliefs of racial inferiority caused paranoia and uproar surrounding the increasing numbers of minorities, especially Latinos in Monterey County. The Monterey County 1946 Voter's Guide contained an argument against the initiative to ban employment discrimination based on

fears that the mixture of people of different races and ethnicities in agribusiness would cause unnecessary tensions. The argument states,

> This act would lead to serious trouble in California agriculture. California farmers are noted for willingness to employ workers from all minority groups. Certain minority groups are the most efficient agricultural labor, but individual farmers have usually found it necessary to confine the hiring to one group in order to avoid ill feeling and even violence between minorities. If compelled by law to put minorities with conflicting customs, creeds, prejudices into close proximity required for agricultural labor, inevitably friction, and in many cases violence, will result (Kousser 2000: 81).

This statement reveals the prejudice against minorities in agriculture and the strong belief that people of different skin color and national origins did not interact successfully on social or professional levels. This attitude was shared by an overwhelming segment of population in Monterey County as is evident by the results of the general election in 1946. In California, Proposition 11 was defeated by a "smashing" voting result with the initiative receiving about 29 percent of the voting support (Chen et al. 2008). In Monterey County, voters defeated the ban on employment discrimination 14,209 to 4,062 (Kousser 2000). Proposition 11 was one of the most controversial and contentious issues in California politics in the aftermath of World War II. The atmosphere surrounding the initiative stimulated the political mobilization of thousands of people across California as well as multiple interest groups and minority coalitions that would develop in the 1950s, only to erupt in the 1960s. As immigrants and minorities in Monterey County increased during the first half of the twentieth century, social tensions between groups in the Salinas Valley and along the Monterey Peninsula came to a head by 1960.

Chapter 3: Minority Protest, Civil Rights, and Ethnic Tensions in the Courts, 1965-1980s

"And the great owners, who must lose their land in an upheaval, the great owners with access to history, with eyes to read history and to know the great fact: when property accumulates in too few hands it is taken away. And that companion fact: when a majority of the people are hungry and cold they will take by force what they need. And the little screaming fact that sounds through all history: repression works only to strengthen and knit the repressed."
- John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939)

In the middle of the Cold War, fear of the Communist threat, and the rise in civil rights issues, the 1960s brought a new questioning of power and social values for American society. A struggle for civil rights across the Southern United States exploded amongst the black populations and led other minorities to reflect on strategies and forms of protest in their own struggles. In the 1970s, labor rights and justice movements emerged throughout California, just as the effects of the civil rights movement was spreading across the U.S. Furthermore, in 1969, the National Advisory Commission of Civic Disorders, or the Kerner Commission, reported that the nation was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal" and unless conditions were resolved, the country faced a "system of apartheid" in its major cities (Kousser 2000: 61). In April 1968, one month after the release of a report from the Kerner Commission, rioting broke out in more than 100 cities following the assassination of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr (Ibid).

PROTESTING MARGINALIZATION OF MINORITIES IN EMPLOYMENT: MONTEREY COUNTY IN THE 1970S

By the 1970s, the Salinas Valley contained a significant Latino population and was

one of the leading agricultural centers in the nation. Moreover, the Monterey Peninsula had transformed its established communities into picturesque, tourist attractions and elite coastal suburbs had successfully pushed minorities away from the majority of the main cities surrounding the bay. Both the Salinas Valley and the Monterey Peninsula boasted different economies, populations, and agendas; yet belonged to the same county government. Thus, going back to the warnings of the Kerner report in the 1960s, it should be no surprise that the "two societies" had significant racial, ethnic, educational, and economic disparities between them. A comparison of the Salinas Valley and the Monterey Peninsula in 1970s provides insights into the socioeconomic disparities between the two central regions of Monterey County (See table below).

Table 5: Socioeconomic Comparison of the Salinas Valley and the Monterey Peninsula, 1970

Racial/Ethnic Category	Salinas Valley	Monterey Peninsula
White	91.9%	93.60%
African American	0.20%	1.60%
Native American	0.20%	0.30%
Japanese American	0.10%	1.70%
Chinese American	0.30%	0.70%
Filipino American	0.39%	0.70%
Other or Mixed Race	3.4%	1.30%
Hispanic of Any Race	69%	6%
Total	15,743	44,332
Occupations		
Professional, Technical, Managers	14%	31%
Other Occupations	86%	69%
Education		
Less than High School Graduate	58%	24%
4 years of College or More	6%	30%
Median Years School Completed	9.4	13.1
Income		
Median Family Income	$8,115	$10,190
Per Capita Income	$2,304	$3,817
Persons Living in Poverty	20%	10%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 1970; Hispanic data from 1980 U.S. Census Report

The table reveals a Latino majority in the Salinas Valley and an Anglo majority in the Monterey Peninsula. Furthermore, the education differences illustrated in the table reveal lack of high school completion for more than half of the population in the Salinas Valley in comparison to less than a quarter of the people with less than a high school education in the Monterey Peninsula. Family income for the Salinas Valley residents is less than that of Monterey Peninsula residents; moreover, the data must take into account the prevalence of multiple families living in a single home in the Salinas Valley due to lack of housing in the region. In addition to the education and income differences,

employment differences are the most distinct. These differences came to a head in discrimination allegations in employment, especially in farm labor disputes and in representation in county government in the 1970s. In 1973 and 1974, the California Rural Legal Assistance, or CRLA, filed class-action suits in the Superior and Federal District courts against the Monterey County government, accusing the County of discrimination against African-American, Asian, Native American, and Spanish-surnamed persons in County employment. By this time, about 20 percent of the County's population was Spanish-surnamed; however, Spanish-surnamed County government employees made up only about eight percent of the County government's workforce. African Americans, about five percent of the county population who usually resided in Seaside and Marina, for the most part had higher education than the Anglo population in those towns and were heavily employed in distinguished jobs at Fort Ord; yet, they made up a mere three percent of county employees. Furthermore, the CRLA charged that the jobs in which minorities worked offered few promotional opportunities (McKibben 2011: 31; Kousser 2002: 73). The lack of minorities in professional or management occupations permeated all sectors of economy, including agriculture in the valley, with Anglos making up almost all of the growers, managers, and specialists. In the tourist sector, Anglos made up the majority of the manager, professional, government, and business occupations as shown in the table above.

Lawsuits for minority rights in employment and other sectors of the county were underway. In 1976, Monterey County signed a comprehensive agreement in the federal court suit, *Hisauro Garza et. al v. County of Monterey et.al*, which promised to increase

housing in minority-dominated sectors of the county by 1986 to reflect the minority numbers in the county's population. By September, 1979, 19.7 percent of County government workers were minorities, yet the jobs were still concentrated in the lower sectors. Minorities held about 35 percent of the clerical and about 42 percent of the service and maintenance jobs, yet only 18 percent of the administrative and professional jobs (Kousser 1992). Movements in equal employment opportunities were slow in the 1970s but continued to make progress into the 1980s.

Mexican-American firefighter Gilbert Padilla and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) filed a lawsuit, *League of United Latin American Citizens, Monterey Chapter 2055, and Gilbert Padilla, in behalf of himself and all others similarly situated v. City of Salinas Fire Department*, made headlines as the Board of Supervisors was in the process of deciding to unify the Monterey Peninsula, North County, and Salinas Municipal Courts in 1979 (Kousser 1992: 59). In the courts, Padilla revealed astonishing questions, insults, and disrespect during his promotion interviews. For example, Assistant Fire Chief John Reynolds's first question in the oral examination, asked Padilla, "what he would do as an officer if one of his men came to him and said 'I don't feel like working for a wetback." Reynolds' response to city council inquiries regarding his choice of question, explained that he, "was testing Padilla's temperament to see if Padilla would flare up" (Ibid). Although Padilla never "flared up," Reynolds proceeded to give him a low score on the oral exam because of "his attitude, temperament and my general feel of the way he answered the questions" (Kousser 1992: 60). Although Padilla had passed written exams for promotion to lieutenant six times in twelve years,

Padilla never satisfied the interviewers enough to attain the position. An expert witness examined the scoring procedures on the oral examination and denounced the test as biased. Padilla won his legal suits in federal district and circuit courts and the city of Salinas hired an outside advisor to revise the tests and interviews. Soon after Padilla's victory, Mexican-American firefighter, Mario Martinez, filed suit and the parties settled out of court, as the city agreed to increase the number of Latino firefighters within five years (Kousser 1992: 62).

In addition to employment discrimination in County emergency response jobs, equal opportunity in employment in the school systems became an issue in the 1970s. In 1971 and 1975, the Salinas Union High School (SUHS) and North County Union Elementary School Board formed advisory committees on affirmative action, but due to public pressures from the Anglo population, both the school and the Board ignored or dramatically altered their proposals. Furthermore, in 1972, Salinas Union brought in 52 teachers from the federal program Teachers' Corps, promising to hire half of them to increase the amount of minority teachers in the district but it failed to do so. The school's lack of organization in minority recruitment to create conditions to attract minority teachers led to a low hire of minority teachers. By 1976, the school hired only 10.2 percent instructors of color**.** Furthermore, as California law required every school district to have an official affirmative action plan in place by Jan. 1, 1976, both the Salinas Union and North County Union refused, due to sentiments expressed by a trustee of the North County Board who states that affirmative action was, "prejudicial and discriminatory against whites" (*Salinas Californian* 17 Dec. 1975). The county and district boards were

overwhelmingly Anglo-oriented which placed numerous limitations and obstacles to equal representation of minorities in the teaching sector.

In 1976, 31 percent of the students in the North County district had Spanish last names, a much greater proportion than the six percent of teachers who were Spanish-surnamed (Kousser 1992: 59). Despite the significant percentage of students of color, the North County district in the region eventually implemented a plan that neglected hiring objectives and the Affirmative Action Committee, which had only one minority versus the sixteen total members quickly disbanded when members failed to show up to meetings (Ibid 61). Similarly, in 1976, the Salinas Union High School District Board adopted a set goal of 30 percent minority teachers; however, the plan was not carried out for another two years. Thus, victories in equal opportunity employment in Monterey County's higher-level job sectors increased during the 1970s; yet, improvements did not come as quickly as some hoped. With Anglos making up the overwhelming majority on county boards, city committees, and in government authority, movements for minorities continued into the 1980s, but they succeeded rather slowly in Monterey County. Minorities found the continuous lack of people of color in higher level jobs unacceptable and turned to methods of recruitment, testing, certification and minority education as the issues at the root of equal employment opportunity in Monterey County. These issues would come to the forefront in the late 1970s and are discussed later in the chapter. Despite a slow movement in equal opportunity employment in higher job sectors in Monterey County at the start of 1980, the 1960s and 1970s were the decades of contention for farm worker rights, minority rights, and union organization in agriculture

throughout the Salinas Valley.

FARMWORKER PROTESTS RISE: THE 1960S AND 1970S IN THE SALINAS VALLEY

In 1964, the United States Public Law 78 that authorized the Bracero Program expired, and there was a rush for an adequate labor supply in the valley as awareness of the poor working conditions for migrant and immigrant farmworkers began to spread. The brilliant spokesperson, Cesar Chavez led to campaign for awareness of the inhumane working conditions and abuses farmworkers faced at the hands of growers. Chavez had already had a prominent role in labor organizing in his hometown of Delano, California and he campaigned throughout agriculture-rich regions in California and gained popular support against the Bracero Program and maltreatment of farmworkers in the fields (Menchaca 1995). The campaign confronted and revealed the real stories of unacceptable working and living conditions as well as the denial of farm labor unionization as part of the program.

After years spent in the Community Service Organization, Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez, who realized they shared a common outlook on organizing farmworkers, teamed up with one another in the spring of 1962, resigned, and launched the National Farm Workers Association. Huerta's organization skills were essential to the development of this burgeoning organization and she succeeded in lobbying and negotiating for Aid For Dependent Families, as well as disability insurance for farm workers in the State of California in 1963 (Wood 2009: 8). The UFW also found success at the federal level, where in 1967, a minimum wage was set for farmworkers and employers were required to provide an hourly wage of no less than forty cents below the

federal minimum (Kousser 1992). Due to the deportation of many braceros, strawberry production had to be cut short and the National Farm Workers Association joined the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC) and called farmworker strikes against certain grape growers in the San Joaquin Valley in 1970. The strikes persisted with the farmworkers' proposals calling for sufficient wages and rights to unionize in farm labor.

Cesar Chavez held a rally in Salinas in July of 1970, to protest against backdoor contracts without workers' knowledge. A temporary UFWOC headquarters was set up inside the Salinas Office of the Mexican-American Political Association and later, in August 1970 more than 3,000 farmworkers gathered on the Hartnell College's football field to support Chavez and the UFW. By late August, the UFW called for strikes against many local firms and after several incidences of picketing and walkouts, eventually InterHarvest, Fresh Pict, and Pic N Pac signed with the UFW (Salinas Public Library 2010). Soon thereafter, Cesar Chavez called for a boycott of all non-UFWOC lettuce organizations and after calling for lettuce boycotts, walkouts, and picketing, Chavez was placed in the Monterey County Jail until he complied with an order to stop boycotting Bud Antle Lettuce. Immediately after hearing motions and arguments, Judge Campbell, expressed, "If the law is to continue to have any meaning, it must continue to apply equally to the weak and the strong, to the poor and the rich, favoring neither the one nor the other. No man or organization is above or below the law. If the objective is a noble objective – and many say there is a noble objective here–improper and evil methods cannot be permitted to justify it" (Kousser 1992: 74). Apparently, the "evil methods" of

boycotting lettuce were immensely harmful to the growers and that was enough to keep Chavez in jail.

Despite incarceration, Ethel Kennedy, widow of Robert Kennedy and Coretta Scott King, widow of Doctor Martin Luther King, visited Chavez in jail. On December 24, 1970, Chavez was released pending the California Supreme Court's assessment of the case. After four months, the Supreme Court ruled that the UFWOC had a legal right to engage in "peaceful and truthful attempts to persuade the general public not to purchase a specific product or products unaccompanied by picketing" (Kousser 1992: 76). After Chavez' release, picketing and boycotts increased and the UFW and its supporters began to procure contracts with growers; yet the contracts came with violent confrontations of strikes in the region, especially with the Teamsters attempting to gain contracts in the valley. Shots were fired at the UFW headquarters in Salinas, farmworkers were increasingly at risk of being shot or beaten, and a bombing at the nearby Watsonville UFW office, caused more fears of violence against farmworker protests. In an incident where Jerry Cohen, council member of the UFW, was beaten by two Teamsters and hospitalized, County District Attorney Bertram Young made no arrests in this or in other cases of anti-UFW violence (Ibid). By 1971 Chavez and the farm workers union had won central contracts throughout the valley. Furthermore, in 1973 the state of California passed the California Occupational Safety Act, which required portable rest rooms in the fields, drinking water in the work place, and adherence to safety standards to protect farmworkers from pesticides (Menchaca 1995: 112). Thus, the state of California and the rest of the nation began responding to the protests.

In 1974, Chavez lobbied for the support of California governor Edmund G. Brown and other state legislators to endorse a law allowing farmworkers the right to unionize and their own elections (Decierdo 1980). The largest success came when Huerta and Chavez enacted the Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975. This law was a great feat for farmworkers as it allowed California farmworkers the right to organize and negotiate for improved wages and working conditions (Kousser 1992). Also, for the first time in state history, California growers were required to allow farm labor employees to organize union elections and decide if they wanted union representation or to deal with growers directly**.** Also, in 1974 the U.S. government allowed the extension of federal unemployment insurance to farmworkers, which gave seasonal farmworkers economic benefits in times of need (Shulman 1986). The UFW campaigns played a leading role in extending economic justice to the fields, where farmworkers where facing consistent exploitation and some of the most inhumane conditions, especially in regions where farmworkers made up a large portion of the population, such as the Salinas Valley.

After struggles with Teamsters, growers, and their allies in law enforcement and the courts for most of the 1970s, the UFW campaigned in the Salinas Valley again in 1979, resulting in another massive strike throughout the region. About fifty court trials resulted from strike; yet this time around, Superior Court judge Richard Silver, a Jerry Brown appointee, granted the Agricultural Labor Relations Board's proposal to allow a few of UFW organizers to meet with strikebreaking workers in the fields during breaks. According to the *Salinas Californian*, Silver's decision "for the first time in the history of agricultural labor, [gave] a limited right for the union to speak with non-union workers

brought in to cross UFW picket lines. Some of the workers, including 50 to 250 which the paper mentioned "lived in caves, packing boxes and makeshift tents made of plastic sheets" on the Nagata Brothers Farms, were intent on listening to the union. In 1979, the success of the boycott of table grapes by Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee (UFWOC) prompted lettuce growers in the Salinas Valley to take action. In a defensive move the day before grape growers in Delano agreed to union representation by the UFWOC, 170 vegetable and lettuce growers in the Salinas and Santa Maria Valleys signed contracts with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Neither the growers nor the Teamsters bothered to consult the farmworkers under those contracts; instead, workers were required to join the Teamsters within ten days or lose their jobs (Jenkins 1985; Kousser 1992: 70). After efforts to organize grape workers in Delano, Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) began organizing activities in the Salinas Valley. The Teamsters' contracts granted farmworkers raises of only one-half of a cent each year for the next five years, so, it was not difficult for the UFWOC to eventually gain the support of over 10,000 farmworkers in the Salinas Valley in what was called "the most massive strike in U.S. farm labor history" (Kousser 1992: 78). In the 1979 strike, unlike the 1970 strike, most Salinas Valley agricultural companies ended up signing contracts with the UFW that were sustained by California Supreme Court; thus; another huge success for farmworkers in the valley (Seavey 1988). After the 1970s strikes, boycotts, and injunctions, it was clear how crucial it was to control the judiciary and political system of Monterey County. Thus, farmworker representatives, organization members, and others within the rapidly

growing Latino community in Monterey County sought access and participation in the political sphere in order to further the movement for minority rights in the county.

VOTING AND REDISTRICTING TACTICS IN MONTEREY COUNTY: THE 1960S AND 1970S

The 15th Amendment to the U.S. constitution had determined that the right to vote could not be denied to any [person~~s~~] based on their color or race, religion yet, certain states and counties imposed implicit methods that placed racial restrictions on voting. For example, some of the tactics used to weaken the voting power of non-Anglo voters included poll taxes, literacy tests, and gerrymandering voting district boundaries. The Voters' Rights Act of 1965 made it illegal to use such strategies and established a system to monitor and enforce this new law around the nation (Kousser 1992). The act allowed minorities to confront lack of minority representation in politics and minority-oriented policy with a new mechanism to continue their struggle for equal rights. The campaigning for minority equal rights leading up to the Voting Rights Act, brought political issues to a head in Monterey County.

Despite population equality requirements for supervisory redistricting that had been part of California law since 1883, the Monterey County Board of Supervisors did not carry out redistricting from 1886 to 1992. Before the mid-1960s, the members of the Monterey County Board of Supervisors overwhelmingly consisted of powerful growers and real estate developers, who, as previously discussed, placed obstacles before minorities attempting to gain equal rights and policies in favor of the Anglo population. These members usually served the board for quite long periods as is revealed in a review of the board members of the First and Fifth districts. For example, M.S. Hutchings and

A.B. Jacobsen arrived on the Board together in 1933 and remained until death, Hutchings passing away in 1952 and Jacobsen in 1955. Also, William J. Redding of the Third District served from 1939-1959 and George Dudley of the Fourth served from 1914 until 1944. Thus, the largest districts in the southern area of the County, consisted of all-Anglo supervisors since 1893. Besides a few board members of Spanish descent in the late nineteenth century, no other minority had ever been elected to the Board. Board Chairman Jacobsen remarks to a fellow board member being sworn in expressed the tight-knit feel of the board room when he said, Monterey County had "the most harmonious" board of supervisors in California (Seavey 1988). From the 1930s to the 1960s, the population expanded within the most and least populated districts with 53 percent of the population residing in a single district that covered the entire Monterey Peninsula and less than 1 percent of the county population in the South County 4th District. In 1954, the County's Grand Jury called for reapportionment, but the supervisors, and later, a majority of the voters, declined to realign the districts. As the minority rights movements increased throughout the county in the 1960s, political sectors were targeted for discrimination practices. For example, in 1963, in the court case of *Griffin v. Board of Supervisors of the County of Monterey*, the coastal city of Seaside joined Monterey newspaper publisher Allen Griffin to demand an end to the astonishing injustice in Board district appointments and forced the County Board to uphold the state requirements for redistricting. Still, the Board established the boundaries of the supervisorial districts in the basic format in which they had existed until April of 1992 (Kousser 2000: 82).

The requirement of equally populated districts for the Board of Supervisors and state elections for the state legislature opened up the Board to new confrontations regarding minority representation on the board. Equally populated districts allowed for the communities to elect their own representatives who could directly address specific community needs and give minority communities a larger voice in County issues. From 1962 to 1980, the number of residents serving as board members on reasonable terms increased. For example, in the Third District, between 1965 and 1975, five different men represented the region on the Monterey County Board, which allowed for opportunities for the underrepresented communities to gain political influence (Kousser 2000). The constant refusal of County Board members to reapportion districts secured their power and positions; thus, the Board upheld passive districting principles and applied specific boundaries to enhance their political prospects, often at the expense of potential opposition from ethnic minorities. With such a long history of securing traditional power on the County Board and on other offices throughout the county and despite an initial increase in reasonable Board member terms, issues with voting redistricting and violations of the Voters Rights Act continued in 1970.

One provision in the Voting Rights Act specified that any voting jurisdiction found to be in violation of the law would be required to conduct their voting procedures under the supervision of the U.S. government. In 1971, Monterey County was found to be in violation of the Act due to requiring English literacy skills for voting and having less than 50 percent of the eligible voters actually voting in the general election, and since then it has been subject to federal supervision. Monterey County is one of only four

counties in California, and one of only a handful of counties outside of the Southern States to be under federal supervision in its voting procedures (Avila 2007; Kousser 2002).

During the 1970s, when the County Board of Supervisors was deciding how to arrange the county's judicial system, Latino and African-American candidates began to seriously challenge major, as well as minor offices for the first time since early in the twentieth century. For example, in 1972, African-American Jane Van Hook ran against Superior Court Judge Stanley Lawson, in 1976, Jose Rafael Ramos challenged Soledad-Gonzales Justice Court Judge Alan Hedegard for the seat, and in open-seat races for two Board of Supervisors' seats, Pearl Carey and Jack Simon, both African- Americans, ran in the primaries and were close candidates in the November campaigns. Throughout the South County and in Salinas, Mexican-American candidates ran for school board and city council races, some coming out victorious (Avila 2007). It was in the latter half of the 1970s that the political sphere began to mirror the county's demographic transformations, as well as the increased activism amongst minorities.

In the Salinas Valley, with Latinos making up almost 70 percent of the population by 1980, Latinos ran and won many city council elections. For example, city council elections in King City, Greenfield, Gonzales, and Soledad in 1968, consisted of seven candidates with Spanish surnames and two who were victorious. Democrats nominated Spanish-surnamed candidates Julian Camacho and Juan Valdez in the Republican-dominated congressional and state assembly districts from the county in 1972, though they lost, gaining only 38.8% and 26.4% of the votes. In the same year, John Saavedra,

the son of a Mexican migrant farmworker, who attended college after injuring his back working in the fields, was elected to the Soledad City Council (Avila 2007: 34). By 1974, three of the five councilmen in Soledad were Mexican-American, and Saavedra was the first Mexican-American mayor in the Salinas Valley in many years. For the seventy seats on school boards in the Salinas Valley in 1977, there were thirteen Spanish-surnamed candidates came to five (Kousser 1992: 88). By the early 1980s, Latinos obtained greater numbers in school boards in Alisal as well as in Salinas, and in South County. By 1980, the Latino population made up about 28.8 percent of the total population in Monterey County; thus, the Latino voice continued to increase in Monterey County politics. Nonetheless, movements for equality for minorities in Monterey County schools continued to face challenges from the 1960s to 1980s.

DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOLS OF MONTEREY COUNTY: 1960S-1980S

Despite the efforts of the California State Board of Education to unify the courts including liberal laws and court decisions that opened opportunities for minorities to take larger roles in the community, issues of school segregation and affirmative action disturbed the public institutions of Monterey County from the late 1960s through the 1970s, largely due to the segregation of the residential neighborhoods from which school assignments were made. During the 1940s many laws that repealed racial segregation practices in education were prominent in California. The 1947 case of *Mendez, et. al v. Westminster School District et. al*, was a monumental step towards ending segregation

amongst Mexican American students in California.[8] With a ruling in favor of the defense, the segregation of Mexican children in Orange County schools was broken down and legalized segregation was abolished in California in 1947. Further repeals in education codes that same year called for desegregation; yet, Monterey County's voter redistricting issues were followed by school districting in the region resulting in schools districts that had not adapted to the rapid expansion in population in many communities and neighborhoods in the County (Kousser 2000: 19). Thus, the process of integrating schools met numerous obstacles in the redistricting processes in Monterey County during the 1960s.

Seven years after the Mendez case, the U.S. Supreme Court case, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* in 1954 challenged separate schools for Blacks and Anglos, and succeeded in ending segregated schools in the U.S. In Monterey County, most Anglos voted against redistricting, which led to grossly crowded schools in neighborhoods that had the most population increase during 1950-1960, especially amongst the Latino community. Latino migrants began replacing bracero workers in the

[8] With segregated schools in California, Mexican schools were lacking in infrastructure, materials, resources, and funding in comparison to Anglo schools throughout the state. In 1945, Mexican parents tried to enroll their children into the Main Street Elementary School, and Anglo school located in the Westminster School District, Orange County, California. The children were turned away from the school because they were Mexican and sent to Hoover School, a "Mexican" elementary school. One such family was the Mendez. Filing a class action lawsuit on behalf of 5,000 families, and with the help of the League of United Latin American Citizens, Mexican parents disputed against four school districts in the Los Angeles federal court for segregating their children. The Mendez's counsel, David Marcus, argued for desegregation of California's schools "on the grounds that perpetuation of school admissions on the basis of race or nationality violated the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the National Constitution." In response, the defendants argued that Mexican children were "unfit and incapable" to attend the Anglo school. (Wollenberg 1974).

late 1960s and migrant families began to permanently settle in Monterey County, which had dramatic effects on the schools of Monterey County. For example, by 1969, the Gonzales Union High School District of the Salinas Valley was 70 percent Mexican-American, with almost half being the children of migrants; however, its school board remained largely Anglo (Kousser 2000). Thus, the school boards and city councils were less than tolerant of minority-oriented resources and ethnic youth organizations in schools. For example, a teachers' aide was sent to Monterey County by the federal Teacher Corps when her husband who was an outreach worker, organized a Mexican-American Youth Association. Hundreds of people attended the Gonzales Union High School Board meeting during which the couple's roles in the schools were debated. Robert Bianchi, a trustee, expressed that, "We're not saying at all she [the aide] is not a good teacher, but that, because of her political activities, she is unacceptable as a teacher in Gonzales" (Ibid: 49). Thus, both were fired from their jobs and evicted from their home for allegedly teaching "militancy and ethnic hatred" and had to file a federal lawsuit to fight for their jobs (Kousser 2000).

In Salinas, where thirty bilingual teacher trainees first received approval from the Salinas Union High School Board to set up a "Latin Cultural Center" to offer counseling, activities, and a Spanish-language program experienced controversy in regards to the Center and within a couple of weeks it was shut down until its activities could be "fully approved" (Kousser 1992: 54). In 1974, confrontations between Mexican-American and Anglo students as well as Mexican-American students and Anglo teachers at Alisal High School were well documented in the local newspaper. At North Salinas High School,

battles over banning ethnically oriented books used in elective courses broke into petitions and struggles between students and teachers. For example, 2,072 people signed a petition to cancel an English course titled, "Literature of the Forgotten Americans" that utilized Piri Thomas's *Down These Mean Streets*. Leaders of the petitions demanded the firing of the Superintendent of Schools, the Assistant Superintendent for Curriculum, and the Principal of North Salinas High for not canceling the material quickly enough after the School Board barred the book. Later that year, Claude Brown's, *Manchild in the Promised Land* and Alex Haley's, *The Autobiography of Malcom X* were also challenged and were initially banned before being allowed after serious debates amongst the Board (Ibid).

In Soledad, where elementary schools contained a 76 percent Spanish-surname majority by 1969, California Rural Legal Assistance, Inc. (CRLA) sued in federal district court on behalf of nine Spanish-speaking children who had been placed in a special needs class due to poor scores on an IQ test administered in English. This was a common practice as was admitted later by the Superintendent of Schools in 1975. As part of the test, the children, aged 8 to 13, were asked such questions as "When is Labor Day?" and "Who wrote Romeo and Juliet?" and they were required to identify "hieroglyphics," and "Genghis Khan" (Avila 2007). The Soledad Union Elementary School District and the State Department of Education eventually settled the CRLA's suit before trial.

Language differences were a constant issue in the Salinas Valley schools, even in the northern part of the county. In Castroville, Gambetta school had a majority of 80 percent Spanish-surnamed students and nearly half of them spoke only Spanish or limited

English. Nonetheless, when the North County school district hired a teacher to teach selected students English as a Second Language for 45 minutes a day, one trustee resigned in opposition. Furthermore, the North County Board turned down $50 million in state funds to set up a bilingual program at Gambetta School and made it apparent that Spanish-speaking students were not a priority. North County trustee Leonard Rabe, expressed that the refusal of state funds occurred because "the district already spends more per pupil on Spanish speaking youngsters than on others – thereby shorting some deserving students. Money isn't the answer to the language problem," (Kousser 2002: 63). The CRLA filed federal suits against both the SUHS and the North Monterey County School District, accusing the districts of creating environments for increased dropouts of Mexican American students with policies of teaching almost completely in English and hiring only a few Mexican-American teachers. Also, the CRLA charged that the facilities in North County schools that primarily served Mexican-American students were inferior to those in Anglo-dominated schools in the county (Ibid). A disgusting remark by North County Superintendent Raymond Smith regarding methods of testing English proficiency of Spanish-speaking students, reveals the lack of priority placed on education of minority students when he expressed that students could be tested by, "putting a gun to their heads and if they say 'Don't shoot,' we know they can speak English (Kousser 2000: 44). Smith was later fired form the Board after several complaints by community organizations.

Regardless of the expansion of the minority population in Monterey County, Anglo parents and several school administrators stubbornly opposed proposals to reduce

school segregation. In 1967, the State Board of Education suggested that local school boards readjust attendance sectors to encourage racial and ethnic parity in schools, Salinas Superintendent of Schools, Roy Granville criticized the proposition and expressed that, "selection of pupils to attend schools on the basis of race or family name is discriminatory. It is actually segregation" (Kousser 2000: 90). Furthermore, by 1971, a State Board of Education report on three Monterey County school districts revealed that twenty-three schools in the districts were racially disproportionate; yet, in light of the public report, the Salinas Elementary School Board failed to take any action to integrate schools. The local newspaper reported, there was "little money and little public pressure" for integration, and district officials continuously failed to redefine school attendance regions and start minority-oriented programs in schools to promote ethnic interaction and education. Instead, the school boards waited on housing desegregation to mix the schools in the distant future, which was, as noted by the newspaper, a "non-solution" to the segregation issues affecting the youth of the communities (Avila 2007: 41).

Despite the lack of action to promote racial and ethnic integration by the Salinas School Board, there were successes in the more rural towns in the southern portion of Monterey County in the early 1980s; however, the successes were not achieved without significant complications. By 1980, of the 356 students in the Chualar School District, 320 were Latino, mostly Mexican migrants. Thus, in 1981, the town of Chualar elected Latinos in four of the five trustee seats of the Chualar Union School District, creating the first Latino majority on a Monterey County school board in over a century. The strong Latino influence in the district led to ethnic tensions amongst parents, teachers, and

organizations in the nearby regions. For example, a disagreement over bilingual education led School Superintendent Phil Crawford to portray the leader of the school's Migrant Parents Committee, Adalberto Margarito, as a "blackmailer and trouble maker," and the Board supported Crawford (Kousser 2000: 90). In reaction to the portrayals of Margarito, the Latino community, including farmworker parents and their children, banded together and upheld a week-long boycott at the Board office (Ibid). Eventually, the Board arranged for Crawford to go on a temporary paid leave of absence while an administrative law judge held investigations and hearings to decide his future. In the middle of the investigation, Crawford resigned. The Anglo population in the region followed Crawford's resignation with a recall petition against all five trustees of the Board, and at the following election, Anglo appointees replaced two of the Latino trustees (Kousser 2000: 92). Minorities continued to fight for school integration and minority equality in education, with slow, but crucial successes popping up throughout the Salinas Valley and in all of its small towns where minorities, especially Latinos were heavily concentrated. From the continual struggles for minority equality and ethnic tensions arising throughout Monterey County, the impending future of the County would consist of minority actions and reactions against discrimination and bring more minorities into positions of power to influence policymaking and community decisions throughout the rest of the twentieth century. As communities throughout Monterey County underwent rapid transformations during the latter half of the twentieth century, the demands for social resources in the region increased; thus, minorities mobilized to gain representation and increase their voice in social matters.

Chapter 4: Community Shifts, Population Movements, and the Impact of Historical Discrimination of Minorities in Monterey County, 1980-Present

The last chapter highlighted key movements for minority equality in Monterey County in the mid twentieth century that set the stage for increasing activism for equal minority incorporation into the surrounding communities and in the County as a whole. This chapter follows by examining certain shifts and movements amongst minority communities in Monterey within the last thirty years. More specifically, I focus on the Latino population in the Salinas Valley and their continuous struggles for political, economic, social, and cultural representation and integration in Monterey County in the 1980s to the present. As the Anglo population in Monterey County experienced decreases into the 1980s, the Latino population continued to increase into the decade as certain shifts and developments in economy, politics, and society set the stage for population movements, community shifts, and cultural changes in the late twenty-first century and into the present. These changes brought various members of communities together to organize for equality and representation in Monterey County as the County experienced dramatic population changes and increased racial backlash in the 1990s.

With dramatic intensification of agriculture in the Salinas Valley, immigrant family reunification policies, and the increasing social ties amongst the growing generations of Latinos in the 1980s and 1990s, the Latino population continued to grow at rapid rates in Monterey County, with entire families migrating and settling in the valley. The role of Latinas came forward as they began to outnumber males in the region and took action to facilitate Latino incorporation, particularly for the Latino youth

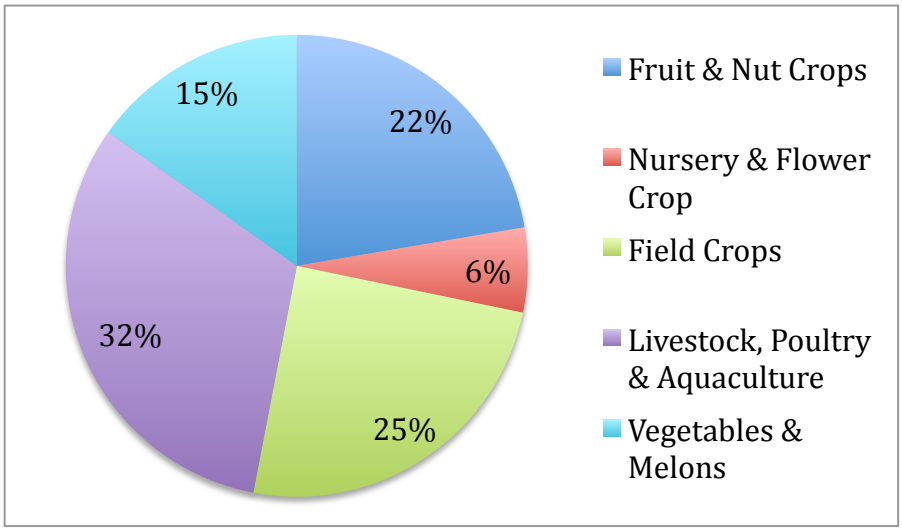
population, in the cities along the eastern side of the Salinas Valley. By examining Latino representation, voice, and influence in the economic, political, and social sectors of Monterey County from the 1980s to the present, I hope to highlight both the progress many in the Latino community have achieved in terms of incorporation into the County alongside the significant ills the Monterey County Latino population continues to face today.

ECONOMIC SHIFTS AND POPULATION CHANGE: RE-INTENSIFICATION OF AGRICULTURE AND IMMIGRATION POLICY, 1979-1990

In the late 1970s to 1980s, the re-intensification of agriculture in California increased with crop relocation, boost in labor-intensive, specialty crop production like fruits and vegetables, and the continuous failure to mechanize the harvesting of specialty crops, which caused a rise in farm labor demand throughout the state (Palerm 1991). The technological aspect of agriculture is particularly advanced in California, owing principally to its highly developed and funded agricultural research system. Although new technologies in agriculture did replace some California farm workers during the 1970s, this replacement was specific to crops such as tomatoes and grapes, which require less hand labor in the fields due to machine harvesters. Although California followed a national pattern of decline in family farm workers and the elimination of some jobs, it differs in terms of the decline in manual labor overall. For example, between 1940 and 1982, the number of farm workers in the nation steadily decreased by 68 percent, while in California, farm workers increased by 233 percent (Wells 1996: 49). As the economic downturn of the 1980s fell hard upon U.S. farmers, California farmers who had begun to

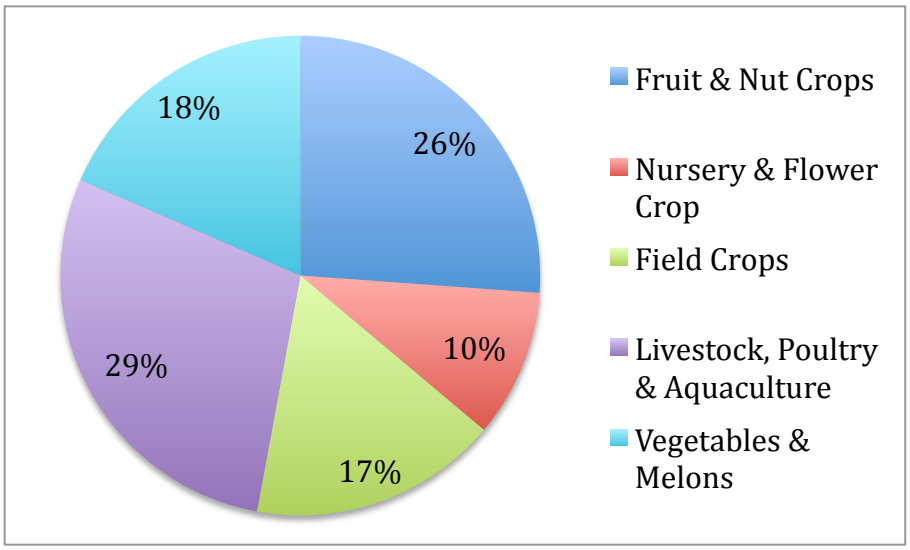
focus on high-value, specialty crop production had a relatively stable economy during the 1985 financial farm crisis. Although advances in farming technology and shipping methods allowed for the shift to specialty crop production, it was the survival of numerous fruit, nut, and vegetable farmers during the farm crisis that made specialty crop production appealing for California farmers. During the farm crisis, producers of dairy products, and field crops such as wheat, grains, cotton, and rice were subject to the 1980s cost-price squeeze due to their high capital investments in machinery and land and their dependence on declining world prices (Palerm 1991). Thus, farmers engaged in fruit and vegetable production in California tended to be financially stable due to the high value of their crops and lower capital investment owed to low-wage manual farm labor that resulted in high per-acre incomes and greater leverages (Wells 1996: 57). The tables below illustrate the commencement of the shift in California agribusiness from a concentration on field crops, such as cotton and wheat to specialty crops, including fruit, nuts, vegetables, and nursery crops in the decade of the 1980s.

Table 6. Percentage of California Agriculture Values by Crop, 1979 (Rounded percentages)



Source: National Agriculture Statistics Service, 1979

Table 7. Percentage of California Agriculture Values by Crop, 1990 (Rounded percentages)



Source: National Agriculture Statistics Service, 1990

The tables show that from 1979 to 1990, the field crop production value decreased in concentration, from about 25 percent to about 17 percent of the total crop values in

California agriculture. Furthermore, labor-intensive crops including fruits, nuts, vegetables, and nursery crops increased to more than half of the agriculture values in the state by 1990. Also, as labor-intensive specialty crops increased in California agribusiness the high value of specialty crops contributed to the total principal crop value increase from about 13.1 billion dollars to more than 19.3 billion dollars from 1979 to 1990. Thus, the decrease in capital-intensive farm products and the rise in labor-intensive farm products permeated the fields of California in the 1980s. In Monterey County, especially in the Salinas Valley, lettuce, broccoli, and strawberries emerged as million dollar crops in the region by 1990. The table below illustrates the dramatic increase in value for these crops in Monterey County from 1970 to 1990 as vegetables and fruit topped California farm production.

Table 8. Principal Crop Values in Monterey County, 1970-1990 (in Dollars)

Crop	1970	1990
Artichokes	6,936,000	23,147,800
Broccoli	13,474,000	129,195,000
Lettuce	62,620,000	325,019,000
Strawberries	14,152,000	181,459,000
Total Value for All Crops	$227,613,600	$1,406,084,140

The table shows that lettuce and broccoli became major value commodities for the region during the 1980s and continued to bring in significant revenue to Monterey County. The advanced technology and farming methods, including advances in shipping and transportation, conversion of marshland areas to farmland, and groundwater extraction allowed for larger-scale production of specialty crops and required manual labor for more harvesting periods per farm as well as maintenance, and steady, skilled

labor in new, specialized positions (Wells 1996). As the number of Latinos in the region continued to increase in the 1980s, Mexican migrants and Mexican-Americans began to take up jobs not only in typical seasonal harvest labor positions but also in the specialized, permanent positions in shipping, transportation, field preparation, supervising, labor contracting, management, and even farm ownership (Du Bry 2007: 32-33). The shift in California agriculture in the 1980s dominated rural California as the economic driving force and, as will be discussed later in the chapter, continued to flourish in the 1990s. Moreover, as the demand for labor increased, immigration to California persisted; thus, the U.S. continued to attempt to control immigration and gain an upper hand on undocumented immigration.

ECONOMIC CRISIS IN MEXICO, IMMIGRATION POLICIES, AND LATINOS GAINING GROUND IN SALINAS, CA: THE 1980S

Alongside the re-intensification in California agriculture, changes in immigration policies in California affected the employment of migrant labor in the fields and sparked migration of families to Monterey County during the 1980s. During 1982, an economic crisis hit Mexico with the worst recession the country had experienced since the 1930s. The crisis resulted in a great financial deficit of over 100 billion dollars in foreign loans for Mexico and a dependence on food imports as well as the termination of industries and jobs throughout the country. Thus, migration to city-centers in Mexico as well as out-migration to the U.S. became the only options for many in the rural regions of Mexico during the 1980s. In addition to increased migration during this period, new migrants began making the trek to the U.S. to look for economic means of survival. In the early

1980s, Indigenous Oaxacans from Southern Mexico, including speakers of Mixtec, Triki, Purepecha, and Zapotec, began to migrate to the U.S. from Northern Mexico. Monterey County, especially the smaller communities in the Salinas Valley region experienced this new migration, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The increase in immigration to the U.S. initiated policies to control as well as deter undocumented immigration to the U.S. during the 1980s, and continued into the 1990s. A significant policy that affected migrants in California was the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA). IRCA's major provisions specify the legalization of undocumented immigrants who had been continuously and unlawfully in the U.S. since 1982. This resulted in the legalization of certain agricultural workers, sanctions for employers who knowingly hired undocumented workers, and militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border (Lopez 2010). As part of IRCA, the Special Agricultural Workers Program (SAW) and Replacement Agricultural Worker Program (RAW) allowed for thousands of migrant farm laborers from Mexico to eventually attain permanent legal residency in the United States if they could provide proof of at least ninety days of work in seasonal agriculture in the previous year (Du Bry 2007).

Due to the longer periods of employment, new opportunities to gain permanent, better-paying jobs in agriculture, and programs to achieve residency in the 1980s, many of the candidates under IRCA and SAW were able to attain legal residency and permanently settle in communities throughout rural California, including the Salinas Valley. Based on her research, Miriam Wells estimates that about 75 percent of the farm workers were undocumented in the Salinas Valley region from 1970s to late 1980s;

however, the passing of IRCA in 1986 allowed many of the farm workers and their families to attain residency status (Wells 1996: 161). Shortly after the passage of IRCA, a highly publicized crackdown on undocumented immigration broke out in the Southwest and increased funds for enforcement at the U.S.-Mexico border. The changes in immigration policy during this time period made it increasingly difficult and dangerous for seasonal migrants to move back and forth across the U.S.-Mexico border; thus, making permanent settlement in the U.S. a much safer and secure option for most migrants. The majority of the Latino population increase in the 1980s and 1990s is attributed to the permanent settlement and the creation of families initiated by the shift in California agriculture and immigration policy during this period.

Along with the increase in immigration during the 1980s and the immigration legislation changes, United Farm Worker organizers joined Chicano activists in Salinas to fight for representation in electoral politics during the 1980s. As more Latino families migrated and made the Salinas Valley their permanent home, early Latino electoral activism in Salinas centered on improving children's educational opportunities. During the 1980s, however, Latinos were still excluded from higher elected office due to the system of at-large elections. The entire county elected all seats, preventing the mostly Latino communities concentrated in East Salinas and southern Monterey County from electing its own judges, city councilmen, and county supervisors (Seif 2008). Furthermore, in terms of school needs for the growing Latino youth population, frustrations continued to build as the local community members could not succeed in gaining support from the Anglo-dominated districts in Monterey County. For example,

in 1985, Jesus Sanchez ran unsuccessfully for Salinas City Council when he gained 70 percent of the vote from Latino districts and only 9 percent of the vote from Anglo-dominated districts (Flores 1990: 15).

Despite the setbacks in elections, activists persisted to campaign and put pressure on Salinas's city officials and in 1988 Latinos in Salinas gained an important victory that set the stage for the Latino population growth that was to come in the next decade. In nearby Watsonville, in Santa Cruz County, at large elections were being challenged and as news spread, activists came together to pressure Salinas's city officials to abolish at-large elections as well. One month later, on August 23, 1988, Joaquín Avila, the attorney in the Watsonville case, filed a class action suit to end the at-large election system in Salinas on behalf of three residents, Fernando Armenta, Simon Salinas, and Marta Nava. In order to prevent the high expenses of a trial and the likelihood of defeat, city officials agreed to settle the matter through a local election. According to Salinas City Manager Roy J. Herte, "We watched what was happening in Watsonville...We had no insurance policy to cover the costs of a suit, and no estimate of what it would cost, and we knew that once the precedent had been set over there, our chances of winning would have been remote" (Flores 1990: 15). Thus, local Latino organizations gathered together and promoted voter education and the get-out-the vote campaign. Volunteers went door-to-door throughout the Latino neighborhoods, carefully explaining the complicated ballot measures and on the day of the election, supporters called Latino registered voters to remind them to vote and even provided transportation to the polls. Jesus Sánchez, who was later voted on the Alisal School Board, explained in a local newspaper, "We had a

very strong grassroots voter registration and a get-out-the vote apparatus. Otherwise we could not have won" (Ibid). While the Latino community voted in favor of the measures for district elections, the Anglo community overwhelmingly opposed district elections. Nonetheless, district elections won by 107 votes with the margin of victory coming from the high Latino voter turnout, accounting for 35 percent of all votes cast. Furthermore, voting was polarized along racial lines as Latino precincts voted 85 percent in favor of the measure, while white precincts voted 75 percent against it. This victory made it clear that, as Sanchez said, "that Chicanos are now a force in this community," and the Latino vote gained ground in Monterey County going into the 1990s (Flores 1990: 16).

LATINOS BECOME THE MAJORITY IN MONTEREY COUNTY: THE 1990S

While the Latino population steadily increased, the 1990s brought a major population decline amongst the African American and Anglo communities in Monterey County. Several economic causes exacerbated the population numbers in the 1990s. For example, the increasing cost of land and housing that commenced as a result of the boom in agriculture and reduction in housing development during the late 1980s and early 1990s put homeownership out of reach of many middle-class families during this period. Furthermore, the significant cause of decline in the African American population in Monterey County was the decision by the U.S. government to close Fort Ord in 1993. The end of the Cold War brought the opportunity for the U.S. to reduce the vast network of military installations around the world; thus, to set the process in motion, the Defense Base and Closure and Realignment Act (BRAC) was passed in 1990. BRAC had a huge impact on surrounding communities throughout the U.S., and in Monterey County, the

nearby coastal communities in Seaside and Marina, both of which had grown economically dependent on Fort Ord, were profoundly affected by the shutdown of the facility. During the decade of the 1990s, Seaside was the most impacted by the closing of Fort Ord, losing nearly one-fifth of its population, with the African American population decreasing by 35 percent across the county (Walton 2001: 113). The decrease in the African American population led to a decline in the vibrant cultural community of the cities of Seaside and Marina during the 1990s, and although a movement for African American cultural representation was initiated in recent years, the communities have yet to fully recover from the losses experienced after the shut down of Fort Ord.

The following table shows the population changes that resulted from the decrease in military activities in Monterey County during the 1990s.

Table 9. Monterey County Population by Race and Ethnicity, 1990-2000

	1990	1990	2000	2000
Racial/Ethnic Category	Number	Percentage (%)	Number	Percentage (%)
White	187,095	52.6	162,045	40.3
African American	21,506	6	187,969	3.7
Native American	2,124	0.6	1,782	0.4
Asian/Pacific Islander	25,365	7.1	24,746	6.2
Hispanic	106,343	29.9	187,969	46.8
Other or Mixed Race	13,027	3.7	11,135	2.7
Total	355,660	100*	401,762	100*

Source: U.S. Census 1990; U.S. Census 2000; *Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

The population shows a decrease in the Asian, Native American, African American, and Anglo populations in Monterey County from 1990 to 2000 while the

Latino population continued to increase during that same period. Moreover, during the 1990s, the number of youth in schools grew, with the majority of the increase consisting of Latino youth. Youth ages 17 and under represent 28.4 percent (114,050) of the total Monterey County population. Of this youth population, 62 percent is Hispanic and 27 percent is White. All other ethnic groups combined account for approximately 11 percent of the children and youth in the county (U.S. Census 2000). Furthermore, a higher percentage of children and youth populate the Salinas Valley region in comparison to the Monterey Peninsula.

By the year 2000, with a total population of 401,762, there were 121,236 households and 87,896 families residing in Monterey County. Out of these total households, 39.1 percent had children under the age of 18 living with them. The racial/ethnic distribution in Monterey County is 40.3 percent White, 46.8 Hispanic, 6.2 percent Asian/Pacific Islander, African-American, 0.4 percent Native American, and 0.3 percent Other. Region-specific demographics are notable. In the Salinas Valley, Hispanics comprise 64 to 90 percent of the population while the Monterey Peninsula consists of a largely White population, making up about 70 to 90 percent of the residents along the coast. Furthermore, foreign-born persons comprise 29 percent of the total county population and 47.3 percent of the county residents report speaking a language other than English (U.S. Census 2000).

Moreover, during the last two decades, the Mexican migrant population became quite diverse. As previously mentioned, Mexican migrants of indigenous origin from southern Mexico and Guatemala began to migrate to the U.S. in the 1980s and continued

to do so to gain employment in California farm labor. In 2000, the indigenous migrants were estimated as making up about 10 percent of the farm worker population in California and their numbers continued to increase (Glickman et al. 2008). Migration during the period was driven by economic factors related to underdevelopment models of the Mexican government as well as the neo-liberal trade regimes including the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA in 1994. NAFTA was meant to control migration from Mexico as well as accommodate the economic interests for both the U.S. and Mexico; however, NAFTA sparked Mexican migration for several reasons. In urban areas, workers were shed in large numbers from jobs in government bureaucracies, state-owned firms, and private companies. Furthermore, in rural areas, privatization brought numerous land consolidations, mechanization, and a shift to capital-intensive production methods, all of which worked to displace subsistence farmers and small landowners. As unemployment continued to rise, Mexicans sought ways to manage risk including entering the informal economy to make up low incomes, seeking methods for securing investment capital and, of course migration to consumer markets, largely to the U.S. The reorganization of Mexican markets under NAFTA, in essence, resulted in the types of social, political, and economic transformations that have served as instruments of international migration around the world. The political economy established in North America under NAFTA has created crucial needs not only for employment, but for risk management, assets, and credit needs that Mexico cannot handle on the domestic level. At the same time, NAFTA created new methods of transportation and communication to make transnational movement easier and cheaper, resulting in back and forth migration of

students, managers, government officials, tourists, and workers. These new methods of transportation and communication have created new interpersonal ties across the border to lower social and psychological distances between families and institutions. Along with economic drivers for migration, indigenous migrants are driven to migrate from Mexico due to various political factors. For example, the Triki peoples face political violence around land disputes in Oaxaca; furthermore, teacher strikes and federal militarization of Oaxaca increased migration for many groups to other regions (Glickman et al. 2008). Political and economic events in Mexico pushed more Mexican migrants to bring their families to the U.S. rather than stay in Mexico, creating a new set of social service needs and increased visibility.

IMMIGRATION BACKLASH IN CALIFORNIA IN THE 1990S

With the increase in Latinos throughout California during the 1990s as a result of national immigration policy and foreign policy, an anti-immigrant campaign filled with racism commenced shortly thereafter, particularly in California. Through the proposal of several "Save Our State" initiatives, California voters took to the polls and voted for regulations that took rights away from immigrants and expressed discrimination towards people of color in the state and were described in the official ballot as "the first giant stride in ultimately ending the illegal alien invasion" (Zavella 2011: 49). For example, in 1994, California voters supported Proposition 187, which would deny social services, health care, and public education to all undocumented immigrants. This law targeted migrant women and youth in California, which were the main beneficiaries of health and education as migrants settled and created families throughout rural California.

Proposition 187 was ruled unconstitutional in the federal courts as it violated the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause which allowed for education, health care and aid to families with dependent migrant children. When Pete Wilson ran for governor in 1994, he raised his concern about too many migrants coming to California with an ad that continues to permeate anti-immigrant discourse which intoned, "they just keep coming," with images of apparently undocumented men running toward the U.S. (Ibid 34-35). Furthermore, Wilson filed lawsuits against the federal government seeking reimbursement for the costs of providing emergency health care, prison facilities, and education to undocumented migrants. Moreover, in 1996, Proposition 209, which prohibited discrimination or preferential treatment by state and other public entities passed with support from 63 percent Anglo voters, 39 percent Asian voters, 26 percent black voters, and 24 percent Latino voters (Zavella 2011: 36). The proposition prohibits state or local governments, districts, public universities, colleges, and schools and other government entities from discriminating against, or giving preferential treatment to any individual or group in public employment, public education, or public contracting on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin. Later, in 1998, California voters passed Proposition 227. This Proposition required that all instruction in California public schools be conducted in English, which clearly affects the increasing youth populations in communities of color in California, including the Salinas Valley in Monterey County. The anti-immigrant campaigns in California greatly affected many migrant communities in rural California and Monterey County and resulted in a racial backlash after the abolishment of at-large elections in 1988, with non-Latino city council members

constantly opposing directives for addressing needs in the Latino communities in the Salinas Valley (Glickman et al. 2008). Nonetheless, Latinos pursued representation on city councils and school boards in the Salinas Valley and met with successes in the 1990s.

THE LATINO VOICE IN CIVIC POLITICS IN MONTEREY COUNTY: 1990-PRESENT

In 1990, Simon Salinas was elected the City of Salinas' first Mexican councilman, which allowed for further opportunities to boost the Latino voice and presence in community politics during the 1990s. Labor-community connections in Monterey County were initiated by groups such as The Citizenship Project, an immigrant-organizing association and worker center associated with the Teamsters in Salinas. The Citizenship Project trained more than 1,000 immigrant volunteers, many of them women, to assist more than 10,000 immigrants in applying for citizenship between 1995 and 2000 (Johnston 2007: 89). Voting campaigns in the Salinas Valley emphasized the Latino vote to gain wins in political seats in the county. Marta Nava gained a position on the Alisal Union School Board in Salinas and pursued advocating community needs for youth in schools in the Salinas Valley. Also, as the farm worker population increased in diversity, the United Farm Workers directed their attention to Indigenous issues in the region as they became a larger presence in Monterey County (Johnston 2007: 16-18). Throughout California, Latinos gained representation in politics as well, for example, in 1998, Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante became the first Latino elected to a statewide California political office in over a century. At the same time, the California's Latino Legislative Caucus, which came out as the largest potential voting alliance in the

state legislature, was more gender-balanced than the legislature as a whole. By the 2005 legislative session, the caucus gained its first female chair, and Latinas outnumbered their male counterparts in the male-dominated state Senate by a ratio of 2 to 1 (Seif 2008: 11-13).

Today, Salinas has a majority Latino city council, a Latina mayor, and many of the key public figures such as the police chief, fire chief, city manager, head librarian, some department heads, and most school board representatives are Latino (Seif 2008: 8-9). Despite more participation of Latinos in city politics, limiting land-use policies have clashed with new Latino politicians, as agricultural forces try to protect farmland with the concern that growing Latino power could affect the dependence on low-wage labor (Seif 2008; Johnston 2007).

Salinas, as one of the oldest and largest cities in the Salinas Valley, has made more headway in terms of gaining Latino representation and a visible minority voice in the community; however, smaller cities in the Salinas Valley are still struggling for equal representation in addressing community needs. In the city of Greenfield, Mayor John Huerta, Jr., whose father was an organizer for Cesar Chavez, advocated and continues to advocate for the communities of color in his community; however, racism and discrimination has affected his position today. Mayor Huerta faced recall for his position in June of 2012 due to the complaints of citizens, mainly Anglos, with concerns of what former mayor, Leonard Dart states, "…our town is looking like a Third-World City" (Monterey County Weekly, 24 May 2012). Greenfield's population of 16,330 consists of around 20 percent indigenous Mexicans and has experienced an increase in racism in the

last decade. Dart and his supporters' concerns surround code violations such as parked cars in front of lawns, cyclists on sidewalks, ads in storefront windows, and the use of backyard sheds as dwellings of which violators have escaped penalization under the mayor and the police chief (Ibid). This recall, which did not push through, coincides with an increase in discrimination towards indigenous Mexican groups in Greenfield and other cities in the Salinas Valley as organizations and activists continue to face obstacles in the name of addressing minority needs in Monterey County.

Tensions and struggle persist for minority representation in Monterey County, but it is growing stronger as minorities become more organized. At the base of minority organization are the grassroots organizations that are emerging in Monterey County and incorporate and address community needs of the minority populations. For example, the Community Foundation for Monterey County began a Community Leadership Project that funds and caters to potential grassroots organizations in the region. Some of the 2011 grantees of the Neighborhood Grants Program include minority-directed organizations such as El Camino Real Futbol League and Sol Treasures, which cater to Latino communities. Also, the Community Foundation recently funded Planned Parenthood of Mar Monte which pursues outreach to Oaxacan families for family planning and Nueva Esperanza, which engages in health and developmental support for women and children (Community Foundation 2011). In Salinas, BizCom, whose mission it is to educate and involve the community in issues of immigration, employment, and political awareness is also at the heart of community representation for minorities. Victor Mehia, a BizCom employee, acknowledges that progress is being made in terms of

educating the public on civic issues; however, despite generational shifts and ethnic diversification, Mehia is concerned that the power structure is essentially the same and that it is a large obstacle in the way of progress for the minority communities in Monterey County (Glickman et al. 2008). Nonetheless, in Monterey County, there have been successful campaigns, including mobilization of minorities to participate in the census count and in city and state elections, bringing together minority parents to support youth education and activities, campaigning for worker's rights, and advocating for the needs of women and girls in the region. Much of this mobilization is due to another phenomenon that has developed in Monterey County over the last decade, and that is the increase in the number of women and their participation in politics, in the economy, and in society.

FIGHTING FOR EQUALITY AND FOR THE NEXT GENERATIONS: MINORITY WOMEN IN MONTEREY COUNTY

A long history of political organizing in the Salinas Valley has resulted in more affordable and culturally-oriented health care facilities and clinics than in most agricultural regions. Still, farm worker women still carry the weight of getting health care for themselves and their families without insurance. About 25 percent of farm workers in Monterey County do not receive prenatal care during their first trimester, and 17 percent of babies born at Natividad Health Center, the hospital in East Salinas, had low birth weights in 2004 (Strochlic et al. 2005: 49). There is a constant struggle for women in the region to gain proper access to health and social services for them and their families and there remains progress to be made; however, grassroots organizations are helping communities unite to advocate for better education for the youth population, after-school and community programs for youths, better and more affordable health care,

worker's rights, safety in the farms, proper housing, and anti-gang activity in the area. These are proving to be worthwhile efforts to investigate further so that the obstacles these organizations face can be conquered through better strategies.

In her ethnographic study of a community's social justice organization amongst women in the San Francisco Bay Area, Kathleen Coll revealed that organization members manage their campaigns and activism in regard to the needs and issues they face as women, mothers, and immigrants (Blackwell 2007: 12-13). Furthermore, these qualitative studies reveal that although Mexican immigrant women are marginalized in formal power hierarchies, they play a key role in family settlement and community activism in receiving areas (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994). Through family-driven and sometimes gender-separate community organizing, women confront boundaries between public and private fields and strategically campaign for their concerns and needs. Further studies on women reveal that despite some language barriers women face, especially undocumented women, women organize on the basis of a widespread and politicized notion of motherhood that incorporates expanding opportunities for youth education, family health, and labor rights (Blackwell 2007: 15-18).

As for women in agriculture, there are many women now participating in the agriculture economy alongside their families and/or husbands; however, women farm workers have a marginal position in the agricultural industry. Between 2001 and 2003, 61 percent of undocumented women in U.S. agricultural regions were in the labor force (compared with 94 percent of undocumented males). This employment gap is largely due to their primary parenting role that requires them to continue care giving in the home

(Passel 2006). For women in the labor force, the unemployment rate was 24 percent in comparison to the rate of 9.8 percent for undocumented males (Passel 2006). When undocumented women do work, they face double discrimination due to their residency status and gender and are largely limited to informal labor markets with minimal pay, job security, and chances for economic mobility (Houston and Marcelli 2006: 3). Abuse, discrimination, and traditional gender roles sometimes limit women from participating in the labor force and exerting power in the economic arena; however, since the mid-1990s, there has been an increasing organization of minority women gathering to fight for equality in California agriculture, especially in the Salinas Valley. For example, the group, Lideres Campesinas, an organization that brings together women in rural California regions to discuss public social, political, and economic issues, is gaining ground in the Salinas Valley. Women in the Valley gather together to socialize, discuss their rights as women and human beings, deal with abuse, safety procedures in the fields, worker's rights, public health, and insurance, while fostering participation in other grassroots organizations to help address the needs of their families in rural areas (Blackwell 2007: 9-13).

In addition, organizations centered on women and youth have emerged within the last five years. For example, the Women's Fund of Monterey County works to improve the lives of women and girls in Monterey County by connecting organizations serving women and girls and providing and organizing grants for social transformation and activities. In 2009, the Girls' Health in Girls' Hands action research project ended the year with fifty girl leaders sharing their social issues and recommendations with

policymakers and leaders throughout the county. Implementation of these youth-directed recommendations for improving girls' health was the primary area of focus of Women's Fund grants in 2011 and led to many of the grants directed toward health care and women and girl centered programs (Community Foundation 2011). Many of the newer community organizations are beginning to take hold and expand as more women and youth campaign for their safety and social development in the region.

Many scholars have found that women are essential to grassroots organizing in Mexico and Mexican migrant communities and, that their political engagement in the United States is usually prompted by a concern for their children's education and safety (Carmona de Alva et al. 2002). The increase in the presence of women illustrates the beginnings of community transformations as women unite and advocate for the needs of their families and foster social organization and participation.

In a study that examines the political agency of female Mexican migrant farm workers in the U.S., Lynn Stephen observes that farm worker wives from rural and indigenous Mexico create a gender-segregated medium growing out of a local labor union in agricultural Oregon (Blackwell 2007: 22). In the Salinas Valley, the Lideres Campesinas and another groups, such as Mujeres Luchadores Progresistas and the emerging female-oriented organizations allow women to develop leadership skills that they later bring to male-dominated public political and social arenas to discuss issues of concern. There are now woman who operate and are in control of heavy machinery have "high skill" jobs in the agriculture sector including grafting and chemical-handling (National Agriculture Statistics Service 2009). Also, female-owned businesses have

increased five percent in the last five years and now, about 9,543 businesses in the Salinas Valley are owned or managed by women (U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 2005-2009). Female participation in the labor force, whether in the formal or informal economy is crucial to survival for many of the families in the Salinas Valley as families struggle to keep a roof over their heads and keep their families stable while facing the daily pressures of the lower-income class.

SOCIOECONOMIC MOBILITY FOR MINORITIES: 2000-PRESENT

In Monterey County, as ethnic diversification increased, so did the socioeconomic conditions of the communities in the region. Since transitions to agribusiness expansion and intensification along the Salinas Valley and to the tourism and attraction industry along the Monterey Peninsula from the 1960s-1980s, the current economy of Monterey County is based on three major sectors, that of agriculture, tourism, and the public sector. This economy is dominated by agriculture with 27.5 percent of the workforce employed in agriculture production and agriculture-related services and another 4.5 percent employed in canning and processing of food and related products. Employment in agriculture production and related services grew 12.7 percent from 1993 to 2000, though this is slower than overall growth in the U.S., the emphasis on labor-intensive crops creates a consistent demand for occupations in farm labor (Aguirre International 2010). Monterey County's travel and tourism industries, including the hotel, retail, entertainment, and restaurant industries accounted for 9.3 percent of total employment. The elite recreational projects of the 1960s for the towns of Carmel and Pebble Beach, were executed throughout the twentieth century, and are now popular vacation and

recreation spots and exclusive neighborhoods. The development of the Monterey Bay Aquarium, Fisherman's Wharf, and Cannery Row in Monterey has added to this popular vacation area. Following historical patterns, the Salinas Valley, with the vast majority of the Latino population and the working class of Monterey County, sees little economic growth or stimulation from the tourism industry except through low-paid service employment for residents today (Hartnell College 2008).

As previously mentioned, there is a strong Latino work base in agriculture as well as in service and other food industries. Of the Latinos employed in Monterey County, 54.7 percent work in crop farming in the Salinas Valley, and although there are more employment opportunities in specialized positions, the majority of the employment in agriculture is still largely seasonal (2007 County Self-Assessment). Furthermore, as strawberry farms share the region with large and diverse vegetable farms that offer employment before, during, and after the strawberry harvest, many farm workers can stay employed the majority of the year, however, social and economic networks and legal status remain huge factors in employment in the business (Wells 1996: 74-76). Wells also observed that documented workers are more interested in the movement up the agricultural occupational hierarchy, because of their ability to join certain programs teaching about the business as opposed to undocumented workers (Ibid 161). The instability, abuse, fear, and discrimination that undocumented immigrants face hinder the unity and participation in the community, especially the more recent, indigenous migrants in the Salinas Valley.

In terms of socioeconomic mobility, the shift to high value specialty crops calls for increased labor and for a wider variety of labor positions, making socioeconomic situations more varied within communities in Monterey County. Whereas Anglos dominated the upper ladder of the occupational hierarchy and immigrants remained at the bottom amongst the seasonal harvesters, a new occupational hierarchy within farming is now affected by factors such as length of time in community, English language ability, documented status, job experience, and social networks, where Latinos dominate in a variety of positions (Du Bry 2007: 47-49). For indigenous migrants factors such as lack of social networks, lack of the Spanish or English language, and discrimination by both other Mexicans and the rest of the community in Monterey County cause further obstacles in gaining good employment. Although one in ten Mexicans speaks an indigenous language, in Mexico, indigenous groups face subordination and discrimination (Glickman et al. 2008). This discrimination is often reproduced in the U.S. when indigenous groups interact with non-indigenous Mexicans. In Monterey County, Zapotec migrants have a large presence in Seaside and Salinas, while Mixtec and Triki groups reside in the smaller Salinas Valley city of Greenfield, CA. Sentiments from the Mexican community in the Salinas Valley stem from a struggle for limited health, employment, and social services amongst minorities in Monterey County. Expressions such as, "They're invading us…they're taking over" are common amongst the older Mexican community in Monterey County (Wilkison 2006: 4). The struggles indigenous migrants face are unique in that they do not have the same networks in order to gain secure employment, they lack literacy skills, many lack legal residency, and the

specialty crop farming methods and technology are entirely new to them due to their familiarization with field crops, and small-scale subsistence farming in Mexico. Although there are currently some organizations attempting to help with employment issues amongst the indigenous population and address abuse and discrimination issues in the fields, support is still lacking by the city and county institutions. The son of a former bracero worker expresses his uncertainty that indigenous workers will fair as well as previous generations of Mexicans in Monterey County when he says, "They're struggling right now…there's not the same ability to adapt and accustom themselves to the culture here. They don't have the hospitals, the schools, and the highways. The agriculture here is all new. How are they going to adapt so quickly to that?" (Wilkison 2006: 5). Thus, the support and networks that Mexican migrants have built to achieve socioeconomic mobility in sectors such as agriculture over the years are still out of reach for many immigrants in Monterey County, especially newer migrant populations and seasonal migrants.

Despite struggles for socioeconomic mobility amongst the minority populations in Monterey County, there are organizations that are attempting to assist minorities dealing with employment issues in the agriculture sector. One prime example of Latino socioeconomic mobility in Monterey County is the development of the Agriculture and Land-Based Training Association, or ALBA, created in 2001. ALBA provides a variety of services and resources that seek to "increase the success of small-scale minority farmers" (ALBA 2011). Potential immigrant farmers face difficulties to succeed in the farming business due to factors such as language and cultural barriers, lack of resources,

and the historical institutional exclusion as well as a lack of government support and commitment (ALBA 2011). ALBA trains minority farmers in organic farming techniques and educates them about establishing new markets in the Salinas Valley. An extension of the ALBA program includes the Programa Educativo para Pequenos Agricultores (Small Farmer Education Program), or PEPA, which combines training sessions in agriculture, organic farming practices and business management with useful fieldwork in raising a valuable market crop. The PEPA program is free of charge and lasts about five months after which students can choose to farm a small parcel from the Rural Development Center for up to three years, applying their new knowledge and gaining a "toe-hold" in the agricultural industry (ALBA 2011). So far, the PEPA program has averaged fifteen graduates a year since 2002, and the program promotes its four-hundred plus success stories, including the education of young adults and women in agriculture practices and business (ALBA 2011). The number of Latino farmers in Monterey County has increased 70 percent from 1997 to 2002, according to the United States Department of Agriculture's Census of Agriculture and has resulted in 264 Latino-operated farms in Monterey County, more than the 44 percent growth rate of Latino-operated farms in the rest of California (ALBA 2011). This is major progress for Latinos who wish to stay in the farming business while branching out and creating businesses; nonetheless, there is still progress to be made and issues to be confronted. For example, an organics co-op, Asociacion Mercado Organica (Association of Organic Markets), or AMO, that was founded and ran by a Mexican migrant farmer and his wife in 1998 disbanded in 2003 due to lack of support from the city government for planning and from other funding

resources. This Co-op is just one example of the many Co-ops that have failed in the recent years due to lack of support from the Monterey County government, mainly regarding funding issues (Johnston 2007: 17). In order for programs like ALBA and PEPA to serve the Latino community that wishes to run their own agribusinesses, a steady flow of funding resources and support is needed, that is still lacking in Monterey County.

In addition to being economically viable in agriculture, the Central Coast has many food chain jobs than is found at the statewide level, providing 15.8 percent of all jobs in 2005. The Central Coast region attracts visitors, residents, and businesses based on special qualities of the region, thus, an improvement in economic opportunity and wages over time has ensued, however, minorities face obstacles such as better access to job training and entrepreneurship support to engage in empowered positions. The region has experienced growth in Tourism and Entertainment, Accommodation, Amusement and Recreation, Farming, and other place- based attractions. Data on direct travel spending for the region shows a steady increase since 2002, providing possible revenue sources for specialty and niche products. Again, the challenge and opportunity is sustaining a well-trained workforce to support this diverse and growing economy, along with maintaining the necessary infrastructure, land base and other natural resources to appeal to residents and visitors. Still, the foundation of class-based issues lies in the access to increasing socioeconomic mobility and opportunity in Monterey County, which is dependent on a specific criteria set by those in power and are thus, denied to some groups more than others.

HOUSING IN PRESENT-DAY MONTEREY COUNTY

Housing continues to be a common-ground issue in Monterey County. Housing issues concern residents about whether their children will be able to afford to live in the notoriously high-priced coastal region as well as immigrants attempting to secure adequate homes for their families (Monterey County Weekly 11 Feb. 2010). The National Low Income Housing Coalition estimated that 42 percent of the renters in Monterey County and 55 percent of the renters in nearby Santa Cruz County are unable to afford the Federal Fair Market Housing Rate for a two-bedroom house (Aguirre International 2010). According to the Monterey County Housing Element for 2009-2014, there is a need for affordable housing in Monterey County even with the recent market changes. Housing for lower income households, homelessness, housing for people with disabilities, for farm laborers, substandard housing conditions, and foreclosures are some of the key issues.

Part of the housing issue is the relatively low incomes associated with the area's economic structure with agriculture and tourism inadequately providing living wages for the majority of those employed in the region. The farming and hospitality industries represent two major economic sectors in Monterey County, particularly in the unincorporated areas. In general, people employed in these industries tend to earn lower incomes, with most of the minimum wage jobs concentrated in these two sectors. Monterey County's reliance on these two economic sectors generates a significant demand for affordable housing in the region. At the same time, the natural beauty of the California coast that makes Monterey County a prime vacation destination contributes to

making the County one of the most desirable areas to live in. This has resulted in penned up real estate prices that negatively impact the County's ability to provide affordable housing. The 2008 mean annual wage in Monterey County was $40,798. Management professionals in the County earned the highest mean wage at $95,678, while farming, fishing and forestry workers earned the least at $19,745 (County of Monterey Housing Element 2009-2014: 19). With the majority of workers in the farming and forestry field being minorities earning lower incomes and 66 percent of low-income households in Monterey County being plagued by housing affordability issues, people of color in Monterey County continue to struggle for adequate and reasonable housing in the region (Monterey County Housing Element 2009-2014: 8).

Nonetheless, when it comes to the growing homeless population in Monterey County, housing issues are affecting people of all ethnic backgrounds. In Monterey County, homelessness is a growing concern as more individuals are characterized as homeless, either living in shelters, vehicles, or encampments. A survey by the County of Monterey predicted that in 2009, the homeless population was 3,056 in a given year in the region. Furthermore, the ethnically-diverse homeless population was 46 percent Anglo, 29 percent Latino, ten percent African American and ten percent multi-racial (County of Monterey Housing Element 2009-2014: 24). Homelessness plagues a variety of people from different backgrounds as home ownership and home rental rates become less and less affordable to the general population in Monterey County.

Another issue in Monterey County is the strict environmental controls, including urban-growth boundaries in Monterey County and nearby Santa Cruz County, as well as

coastal restrictions throughout the area and a "NIMBY-ist (Not In My Backyard)" reaction to proposed development projects, including low-income housing (Aguirre/JBS International 2010). An example given by an audit of the communities in the Salinas Valley, reveals the difficulty of affordable housing. When a nonprofit organization built a new facility in nearby Santa Cruz County they received 831 applications for 76 affordable units during its construction (Aguirre International 2010). Land restrictions in agriculture-rich regions in California are strict in terms of infrastructure development on local lands, which causes numerous issues to provide affordable adequate housing for residents. For example, the Monterey County Housing Element, 2009-2014, lists slow or irregular processing periods for housing permits, rise in demand for rental units, cost burdens for housing consumers from environmental review processing for strict environmental codes, and the Coastal Act of 1976 that prohibits encroachment on coastal lands as just some of the issues that avert adequate affordable housing in Monterey County (County of Monterey Housing Element 2009-2014: 83-89). Agricultural land restrictions, coastal land limitations, and the constant commitment to maintaining a small, beach town feel in Monterey County cause increased marginalization for those in need of housing in the region.

Focusing on all-inclusive issues at first, such as housing, has brought some success in uniting members of both the upper class and working class communities to begin to solve issues they both understand, while fostering a relationship between them to understand class-based issues of concern. Although political participation and influence have progressively increased amongst minorities in the region, there is still a vast amount

of issues that need to be addressed as the minority populations continue to grow and become increasingly ethnically diverse once again.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SPACES FOR MINORITIES

In 2010, Latin America remains the main birthplace for the foreign-born population in Monterey County, with 78 percent and 86 percent of the foreign-born in the Salinas Valley from Latin America (Aguirre International 2010). In Monterey County, 30 percent of the foreign-born are from Mexico and migrated to the region between 1990-2000, during the crucial years for the innovation in agriculture technology, specialty-crop production, and shifts in immigration policy (Ibid). Today, the number of foreign-born from Mexico is slightly decreasing in Monterey County as the area's population growth is actually driven mostly by births over deaths, a trend suggesting that the growth in population is mostly native (Aguirre International 2010). Just as in the rest of California with higher birth rates in the Latino population and continued international migration, the Latino community is now 53.9 percent of the total population of Monterey County, up from 42 percent in 2000 and 28 percent in 1990 (Ibid).

The investigation of the influence of Latinos in the socio-cultural sector requires ethnographic observations; however, due to the limitations of this project, data, news, and media prove to be great sources and they reveal that Latinos are gaining social influence in many of the eastern cities along the county with a Latino majority. The Monterey County official website reveals the influence of the Spanish language, that now makes up about 40 percent of the communication between businesses/organizations and clients (Hartnell College 2008: 18). For example, the link to the Clinic Services Division on the

county website is to a webpage in Spanish about the services available at the Clinic, which is centrally located in Salinas. Further exploration of the county website connects to links that reveal the recognition of the Latino influence in the agriculture of the region. For example, Monterey County supports the Strawberry Program, which is meant to foster research "enhancing yield and post-harvest quality of promotion of winter strawberry production while examining business relations with the labor force," and sessions are offered in Spanish and English (Monterey County 2011).

As mentioned, Salinas, being one the oldest established cities and one of the largest, has a significant middle-class Latino population that exudes more influence on the town than the other regions in Monterey County. For example, the downtown areas of Salinas consist of some minority-owned businesses including Mexican restaurants and taquerias, salons, liquor stores, bars, clothing stores, Spanish video shops, and travel agencies that tailor to preferences and needs of the Latino population. The Latino-owned businesses cater to the preferences and needs of the Latino population because the Latinos are making up the majority in the towns in the Salinas Valley; however, in the western part of the county, minorities do not have as great of a presence. In addition to Latino influences in businesses and social services in the Salinas Valley, the high school graduation rate in the larger cities, such as in Salinas and Soledad are growing. According to a former classmate of mine, in Salinas, the younger generations, most native-born, are becoming more educated, receiving a college education in the prestigious universities in the Bay Area and in southern California, and returning to the region to contribute to their communities as teachers, city officials, business owners, and members

of non-profit organizations. Also, the younger generations of Latinos who return to these towns to join their families are pushing for cultural celebrations, music, and Latino-founded businesses and programs in the regions. For example, the Literacy Campaign for Salinas, created by the Community Foundation for Monterey County in collaboration with families from Salinas, has been incorporating more of the populations of the towns along the Salinas Valley and has been increasing its success rate in promoting literacy in the region since it was established in 2008 (Community Foundation 2011).

Despite the presence of minorities, especially Latinos in the Salinas Valley, there is a clear separation of space between minorities and Anglos throughout public spaces in Monterey County as a whole. Anglo Americans maintain what Martha Menchaca (1995) calls, "social apartness," by keeping a careful distance between them and minorities in Monterey County through their dominant presence and regulation of institutions and cultural ideologies, especially along the Monterey Peninsula. As has been illustrated throughout this project, the history of racial and ethnic minorities emerged from ideas regarding group differences. Since the initial contact of Europeans with native societies in the New World, ideas held by whites about non-whites resulted in the labeling of "racial" differences which essentially divided people into hierarchies that arranged people along the lines of superior to inferior and dominant to subordinate. These ideas, in combination with other ideas about racial and ethnic differentiation in colonial America and elsewhere became part of official regulations and institutions in regions around the world. By arranging racial politics in systematic codes, the dominant group contributed to the creation of ideologies that essentially determined the status of racial minorities as

groups that occupied the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder in society. In Monterey County, ideas that set whites apart from non-whites were institutionalized in a set of social, cultural, and political norms that, over time, help to explain the historical discrimination and marginalization of minorities in the region. The consequences of this historical discrimination have led to significant social disadvantages for minority communities throughout Monterey County. The persistence of lack of minority education resources, distortions in development in affordable and adequate housing in minority communities, constant threats to immigrants in the workplace, including abuse, discrimination and negative immigrant discourse amongst residents marginalize minorities in Monterey County. Furthermore, lack of affordable health services and health education, and increases in gang violence in Salinas have emerged as issues that plague minority communities in Monterey County today.

Chapter 5: The Historical Construction of Separate Communities Through Discrimination

In concluding this historical account, I need to present a critical analysis of how a history of discrimination and marginalization has impacted the interethnic relations in Monterey County. Influenced by the viewpoints and theories of several scholars in critical race theory, ethnic relations, Latin American studies, and community studies, in this chapter, I aim to illustrate the socio-historical process that has impacted community formation and separation in Monterey County. Monterey County has been home to numerous immigrants and settlers for over a century and the history of intergroup relations, as illustrated throughout this thesis, has revealed several trends that remain key factors in the social conditions of minorities in Monterey County today. Racial politics, cultural ideologies, immigration policy, and neo-colonial ideologies contribute to the oppression and marginalization of people of color through institutional racism in Monterey County. During times of crisis, whether political, social, or economic, racism and discrimination practices rose rapidly and served to marginalize minorities and immigrants from institutions and certain social spaces in Monterey County. At the same time, economic interdependence, mass immigration and settlement of people of color, and social movements and resistance have contributed to the persistence of the minority voice and representation and to the changes in interethnic relations in the region.

RACE: THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF A SOCIO-HISTORICAL PROCESS

Howard Winant defines race as a concept that signifies and symbolizes social-political conflict and interests in reference to different human bodies. Furthermore, Winant argues that racial signification is always a socio-historical process and a socially constructed fact incorporating concepts of identity, collective representation, and ways for organizing social hierarchies (Winant 2004: 13). To further elaborate, in his book, *The New Politics of Race: Globalism, Difference, and Justice*, Winant examines examples of how racial ideology over the historical period has resulted in nations across the world oppressing people of color through colonization, export of people, and exploitation based on the racial politics of the times. Since the initial contact of Europeans with native societies in the New World, ideas held by whites about non-whites resulted in the categorization of "racial" differences which typically dichotomized people into a hierarchical order ranging from superior to inferior, from dominant to subordinate, and from civilized to savage (Ibid). In Monterey County, since the eighteenth century, the idea of racial superiority amongst Europeans and Anglos toward people of color has shaped the interactions between ethnic groups in the region and has served to reserve special rights and privileges to the dominant group. For over a century in Monterey County, Anglo Americans have held views of minorities as social inferiors and backward foreigners who are expected to retain their social and physical distance from dominant groups.

In regards to societal stratification, Winant argues that the outcome of racial formations that result in societal stratification depend on the politics of hierarchy,

government, and culture (Winant 2004: 36-40). To Winant, race is the central concept in understanding how a society is ordered in every day life as well as in understanding the social status of people within nations. In every generation's time, the state passes laws regulating the behavior of people and their interactions, therefore outlining race relations in society. That means that racial projects are central to the organization of race relations and classes in a society (Winant 2004: 41-43). For example, colonization, segregation laws, desegregation or any laws that affect race relations are racial projects that affect the concept of race at a certain point in history. In the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, racial and cultural ideologies of superiority permeated the interactions between the Spanish, Native Americans, Mexicans, and Anglos as Native Americans and Mexicans suffered the brunt of marginalization from the economy, politics, and social and cultural institutions of the region under Spanish colonial rule. Manifest Destiny in mid-nineteenth century America was an ideology of American nationalism that not only justified expansion of U.S. boundaries across the continent, but it also served as a rationale to remove Native Americans from the path of western frontier development, and to conquer Mexico and claim its northern provinces for the American nation. The prevalent attitudes of the Manifest Destiny era were reinforced and reflected in the institutions, laws, and customs of the region, which, in the end, set Native Americans and Mexicans apart from their white American counterparts. As a result, disputes over land and resources, religion, cultural clashes, and political control led to the discrimination of minorities and the dramatic decline in the Native American population in Monterey County. In the 1880s and early twentieth century, belief in white privilege dominated

Anglo views of people of color in Monterey County and the ethnic relations in a region undergoing rapid transformation. Thus, minorities, including new migrants such as the Chinese and Japanese, were excluded or marginalized from politics, society, and the cultural norms of the county and were treated as invaders and backward foreigners when economic pressures fell upon the region. The rest of the twentieth century saw vast migrations of Asians, Latinos, and Blacks into Monterey County; while, racial hegemonies permeated restrictive U.S. immigration policies, racial exclusion policies, and notions of racial and cultural difference served to isolate, regulate, disenfranchise, and marginalize minorities in the area.

In contrast to the racial politics that continued to organize racial projects from the state to the people, in the 1930s to the present, Monterey County saw a rise in social movements by which notions of race and difference flowed from the people to the state through organized labor movements, social transformation, and resistance. During this period racial and ethnic difference was also utilized by people of color to fight for these differences to be respected in politics, in the economy, and in civic society. Winant emphasizes that people have power over the state as the state has power over the people, therefore common sense leads people to question what the state has told us and results in social movements that can affect the definitions of race. During the latter half of the twentieth century, race was appropriated as the central factor to the acknowledgement of difference and was an important factor for the reasoning for discrimination against people of color (Winant 2004: 47-49). For example, between the 1960s-1980s, the antiracism and anticolonialism movements created situations where racial politics responded by

being inclusive and egalitarian to some degree. Also, since the electoral process and state is composed of people they serve to influence changes in laws that affect race relations. In Monterey County, the latter half of the twentieth century saw a significant increase in minorities struggling for political representation to address their needs and saw many successes to expand minority voice in civic issues; however, as illustrated in the previous chapter, all classes of minorities continue to face discrimination and institutional racism in the county, especially new immigrants. This has to be taken into account just as seriously as the idea of a gain in positive race relations over time. Also, we must still emphasize the fact that racial classification, surveillance, punishment of populations and the distribution of resources along racial lines all contribute to racialization in societies. Although today, racial hegemonies are not reinforced by extreme forms of violence and militarization as in the early historical period of the region, discrimination and marginalization that are situated in a history of racism and discrimination towards minorities are maintained by exclusion and inclusion of minority groups in politics, housing, health care, education, and the economy in Monterey County.

CITIZENSHIP, GOVERNMENTALITY, AND CULTURAL POLITICS

Aihwa Ong approaches citizenship as the cultural process of Michel Foucault's concept of "subjectification," in which citizenship is self-making and being made by power relations that produce consent through "schemes of surveillance, discipline, control, and administration (Ong 1996: 737). Ong follows Foucault's concept of "governmentality" which is the state's "project of moral regulation aimed at giving unitary and unifying expression to what are in reality multifaceted and differential

experiences of groups within society" (Ibid 738). Under this concept, the universalization of citizenship is gained through a process of individuation by which people are made in specific ways as citizens. Under this approach Ong's concept of "cultural citizenship,"[9] which differs from Renato Rosaldo's original definition of the concept, is produced out of negotiating the relations with the state and its ideologies that establish the criteria of belonging within a population and community. These historically situated ideologies that are rooted in notions of Western European and Anglo superiority organize groups that are distinguished by real and stigmatized biological features into status hierarchies that become the basis of various forms of discrimination and marginalization in U.S. communities. With the colonization of Monterey County and the onset of Anglo dominance in the region, the permeation of racial and cultural superiority justified the exploitation of immigrants, racial discrimination, and the institutional marginalization of people of color in Monterey County.

As ideologies of racial differences became intertwined with the larger notion of citizenship throughout history, the notions about who deserves rights and who belongs in the communities in Monterey County fluctuate. For example, just before the second world war, during the Great Depression, the "Mexican problem" turned into a debate regarding ways to relieve federal and state institutions as they dealt with the influx of Mexicans who came to the U.S. during the 1920s. The solution was to deport them by

[9] According to Rosaldo, cultural citizenship is the "right to be different with respect to the norms of the dominant national community, without compromising one's right to belong, in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes…from the point of view of subordinate communities, cultural citizenship offers the possibility of legitimizing demands made in the struggle to enfranchise themselves" (Rosaldo 1994: 57).

any means necessary through mass repatriation to Mexico. Shortly thereafter, during World War II, the labor shortage in the U.S. made Mexicans, who were just stigmatized as being a major drain on the U.S. economy a decade earlier, to the forefront as the solution for filling in labor needs under the Bracero Program. After World War II, Ong argues that a "human-capital assessment" of citizens rose as a means for power structures to set the norms of good citizenship based on those who could "pick themselves by their bootstraps versus those who make claims on the welfare state" (Ong 1996: 225). We see this thinking in the 1990s, which brought another wave of immigrant and minority backlash as Latino immigrants were continuously labeled as drains on the social and economic institutions unworthy of education and health care in the U.S.

In Monterey County, as the processes of racial and cultural ranking became part of the subjectification of people as citizens, we must keep in mind that official racial categories are reproduced by everyday activities of inclusion and exclusion which separate those deemed worthy of belonging and those who do not fit the imposed criteria. Due to the goals of this project as a stepping stone for further, in-depth research into the cultural ideologies and relations amongst the communities in Monterey County, there are key components that are missing in this study that would allow for insight into the self-perceptions and processes of self-making of the residents of Monterey County. One of these omissions includes the investigation into the everyday activities of residents and their self-perceptions in the communities of Monterey County. Sherry Ortner explains that little routines and scenarios of everyday life are the embodiments and enactments of norms, values, and conceptual schemes about time, space, and the social order so that

everyday practices endorse and reproduce these norms (Ong 1999: 6). Examination of people's everyday actions as a form of cultural politics situated in specific power contexts provide insight into the negotiations and interactions with particular institutions, projects, administrations, and markets that shape people's motivations, desires, and struggles that continue to organize certain types of subjects in communities.

ETHNICITY AND VISIBILITY

Race is important to examine the processes of social construction of racial divisions within communities; moreover, ethnicity is significant to understand the historical construction of identities of people of color in the U.S. Brackette Williams defines ethnicity as the label of, "the politics of cultural struggle in the nexus of territorial and cultural nationalism that characterizes all putatively homogeneous nation-states," she goes on to say, "as a label it may sound better than tribe, race, or barbarian, but with respect to political consequences, it still identifies those who are at the borders of the empire" (Williams 1991: 44). In other words, ethnicity is situated within the power relations of the nation-state and the larger global economy and is constructed as a marker of the subjugated as measured against the dominant group. Williams argues that the dominant group is portrayed as having an "invisible" ethnicity where, "not all individuals have equal power to fix the coordinates of self-other identity formation. Nor are individuals equally empowered to opt out of the labeling process, to become the invisible against which others' visibility is measured" (Ibid). Although immigrants and minorities come from a variety of class and national backgrounds, there is a propensity to intertwine perceived racial difference with economic and cultural criteria in institutional practices.

This results in the lumping of long-term residents and newcomers as "stereotypical embodiments" of ethnicized citizenship (Williams 1989: 437). Thus, immigrants are often the victims of state-sanctioned power regimes that draw them into signification, labeling them, disciplining them, and creating a knowledge base surrounding them, their culture and their bodies.

Throughout the history of Monterey County, ethnicity labels the visibility of the features of the identity formation process that is produced and marginalized under power structures and institutional regulations. As ethnic groups continued to interact with one another in transforming political economies, the *habitus*[10] exhibits symbolic domination and the manifestation of formal coercive procedures used by the dominant members of society to develop certain structures for the distribution of economic roles, political rights, and social status in the region (Williams 1991). Williams also uses Pierre Bourdieu's explanation of "doxa" to describe the struggle for ethnic representation, stereotyping, and symbolic recognition amongst various ethnic groups. In the case of Monterey County, the struggle between the heterodox and the orthodox amongst the various communities in the region where socially constructed ways of interpretation, evaluation, and behavior are accepted as undeniable and are therefore taken for granted, is what remains doxic (Williams 1991: 249). This cultural hegemony, in addition to control over educational resources, political power, labor, economic hierarchies, moral structures, and land are just some of the ways by which Anglos maintain dominance

10 Pierre Bourdieu's notion of "habitus" is a system of "durable, transposable dispositions" that mediate between structures and practices (Bourdieu 1977: 71).

while minorities face exclusion and stigmatization as ethnic groups in Monterey County throughout the twentieth century.

Utilizing concepts from both Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu, Williams urges scholars to understand the nature and character of an ideological field[11] in which people struggle and how symbols are negotiated within this field that is particular to that group of people based on their history. In contrast to the ethnic identities that are used to label minority groups in Monterey County, minorities themselves interact with ethnic stigmatization through social movements and self-organization to resist the ethnic identity imposed upon them by dominant groups. In the case of Monterey County, the specific material conditions in the region emerged alongside ethnic and racial distinctions where groups were placed in a hierarchy that structured their social and racial identities; and the rationalization of these identities became part of the ideological field. Chapter two and three illustrate the importance of attention to the history of minority struggle in gaining voice and power in a system meant to subjugate the voices of people of color. The political struggles for minority representation in civic office, labor organization and strikes, and the persistence of struggles for social equality in education exhibit the importance of resistance in the historical construction of social conditions of minorities as they push boundaries and change the imagined social order in Monterey County. Only

[11] Antonio Gramsci's description of "ideology" is a superstructure that consists of a dual-process in which certain ideas and assumptions become dominant material forces in society (Gramsci 1981: 202-203). The "ideological field," or terrain, is where cultural struggles for and against hegemony occur and where the common sense that has been accepted from the dominant ideology is in constant debate.

through attention to historical details can we describe the reasons and causes for struggle and the impact that knowledge has on transforming current social conditions.

IMMIGRATION AND CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURE AND MINORITY INTRAGROUP RELATIONS

In addition to "formal" institutions and policies, the political-economies of regions serve as informal institutions which shape the lives of working people. Along with the dominant political institutions, political-economies, through the development of local and regional labor markets, help determine why certain groups of people remain at the lower rungs of the occupational hierarchy while others can set their sights on better employment opportunities for them and their families. The opposing interests that divide the working class are further reinforced through “racial” and “ethnic” distinctions. Such scales in labor markets, relegates the stigmatized populations to the lower levels and protects the higher rungs from competition from below. Racial terms within industrial capitalism is exclusionary and serves to stigmatize groups and exclude them from more highly paid jobs and from access to the information needed for their implementation. The process by which new working classes are simultaneously created and segmented has continued down to the present as is illustrated in the socioeconomic conditions of the newer indigenous population in the Salinas Valley, who now occupy the lowest positions in the occupational hierarchy, particularly in farm labor. Labor markets are highly influenced by the set norms and ideologies regarding racial and ethnic/immigrant minorities and their stigmatized positions as workers in the economy. For people categorized as "different," institutions in nineteenth and twentieth-century America

exerted powerful forces, which defined and reinforced group status. California agriculture has demanded immigrant and migrant labor since its existence, especially since the transition from mechanized field crops to labor intensive specialty crops in the twentieth century. The Punjabi, Chinese, Japanese, Midwesterners, and Filipinos have fulfilled this labor demand throughout history; however, each immigrant group has only fulfilled this demand for a relatively short term compared to Mexican immigrants. After World War II the growth in consumer-oriented industries and services was accompanied by a large demand for low-wage labor. The increase in high technology and investment in agriculture resulted in an "agribusiness" enterprise that combines high-cost machinery and scientific inputs with intensive manual operations by low-cost migratory labor.

In Monterey County, with such a diverse migrant population especially within the Latino population, including old timers, new comers, seasonal migrants, and indigenous peoples, intragroup relations and intercultural negotiations remain to be investigated. The impact of intragroup relations is central to the investigation of tensions and stigmatization between long-term residents and newcomers in the receiving communities of Monterey County. For example, as the indigenous population in the Salinas Valley continues to grow at higher rates, residents of Mexican origin, as well as Anglo residents begin to compete with the new migrants for limited resources in the recent economic recession. Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglos begin to view indigenous migrants as "invaders" and perceived cultural notions label them as backward and inferior in comparison to the rest of society. Long term residents in the smaller town of Greenfield, CA are particularly concerned with indigenous migrants taking resources

away from them and their children and have recently begun to move to the Mexican-majority towns of Salinas or Soledad to avoid tensions with the newcomers (Monterey County Weekly, 24 May 2012). Investigation in the forms of ethnographic field work and oral history of perceived cultural tensions between and within ethnic groups are necessary for a better understanding of the institutional forms of marginalization that stratify members within racial and ethnic groups in the same communities in Monterey County. Furthermore, by examining the constant changes in culture as individuals engage with their social world and the influence of historical developments of ideological struggles on a person's culture, we take necessary steps to begin to understand the importance of the historical creation and recreation of culture where the process of colonial hegemony and the transformation of that hegemony over time continues to shape elements of culture for the various groups in Monterey County today.

PLACE, SPACE, AND PUBLIC HISTORY

Currently, a scholarship surrounding ethnic communities speaks to issues about community formation and the impact of political-economies. More recently, scholars have turned to cultural history to understand the economic and social development of cities and cultural institutions. This scholarship considers how ideas about a place, whether real or imagined, shape the culture and "feel" of a city. In many cases, a "new comer vs. old timer," situation takes place and old timers push for a particular image of the community that, in all actuality, no longer exists. However, planners and developers in cities appealing to the tourist industry push out communities of color to make way for the imagined legacy that come to characterize cities, in this case, the coastal cities of

Monterey, Pacific Grove, and Carmel in the Monterey Peninsula. In *Silencing the Past*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot reminds us of, "the inheritance of ambivalence of the word 'history' [H]istory means both the facts of the matter and a narrative of those facts, both 'what happened' and that which is said to have happened. The first meaning placed the emphasis on the sociohistorical process, the second on our knowledge of that process or on a story about the process" (Trouillot 1995: 2). Throughout this project, I have focused on the sociohistorical history of marginalization and discrimination in Monterey County. What is left to be investigated is the construction of a socially constructed history of the region, or the, "concrete production of specific narratives…the process of their production" (Walton 2001: 247). Questions regarding what parts of history are silenced, untold, or left out of these narratives give us insight into the cultural norms and imagined place of Monterey County and their impact on the communities in the region today.

My initial motive for choosing Monterey County as the region of study for this project was my personal fascination with the lack of acknowledgement of the history concerning the stark differences in appearance, income, economy, ethnic make up, and culture between the Monterey Peninsula and the Salinas Valley. Driving through the Salinas Valley on road trips between my hometown and the University of California, Santa Barbara, I became familiar with the region and the dominance of the Latino population in the make up of the city. In contrast, my visits to the Monterey Peninsula, for either a trip to the Monterey Bay Aquarium, the beach, or Cannery Row made me realize the astonishing differences between east and west Monterey County. I could not help but become curious as to how these two very different sectors of the city interacted

with one another in the civic issues in the County. This historical study has revealed several trends in terms of the public image and history each side of the county attempts to promote.

The Salinas Valley is very proud of the agriculture that is a major part of its economy and landscape. The major town of Salinas also pushes the historical images set forth in John Steinbeck's novels such as *East of Eden* and *The Grapes of Wrath*, through Steinbeck tours, the National Steinbeck Center, and the Steinbeck murals throughout the city. Although these books challenged views of social conditions during the Great Depression and the marginalization of Americans in American communities, the stories are perceived as stuck in the past and made irrelevant to the current social conditions in the region. The streets of Salinas contain numerous cultural phenomena including murals of icons such as Cesar Chavez, murals depicting the numerous immigrants that have settled in the region, and the ecological beauty of the region. When it comes to the history of the fierce tensions that occurred between minorities and Anglos in the region, mass immigration raids that destroyed families, peonage, and the racial violence that existed in the region, there is little for the public to see. On the other side of the county, the Monterey Peninsula continues its tourist image as a resort and suburban beach town that it began in the 1950s. Recreational activities are at the forefront of the image of the area; yet, the severe land disputes that became so prominent in the 1950s and 1960s and resulted in the displacement of many minorities along the Monterey Peninsula remain subdued. Furthermore, the peninsula is also heavily influenced by the picturesque, bustling beach community that Steinbeck portrays in his novel, *Cannery Row*; however,

many aspects of Steinbeck's novels, such as poverty and cultural clashes are downplayed in the pubic portrayal of the region. Murals and statues of Steinbeck and a large wax museum devoted to the author line Cannery Row today and depict the various characters in his novels and the landscape, but neglect the interactions between race, class, and gender that also permeate Steinbeck's novels. John Walton notes that a depiction of "Steinbeck's Cannery Row," began to dominate the popular memory of the region in which ethnicity, gender, class, the fishermen, cannery women, the industry as the mechanism of town success were neglected or took a back seat to the imagined place. Furthermore, Martha Norkuna's study reveals that property owners re-created Steinbeck memorabilia in sidewalk murals, a wax museum, and a bust of the author along with several guidebooks and local histories that adjust the history of Cannery Row to fit in with the perceived Steinbeck version (Norkunas 1993). There is lack of acknowledgement of the region as a working-class, ethnically-diverse region as well as the racial discrimination faced by the Chinese, Japanese, and Mexican peoples alongside the coast throughout history. By the time Steinbeck wrote *Tortilla Flat*, in 1935, he was aware of the effect his works had on the local image promotion and narratives. *Tortilla Flat* centers around the region named by a district of Monterey named, Tortilla Flat where poverty, hardship, social divisions occur alongside innocence, good nature and humor of his *Paisano*[12] characters. Steinbeck was criticized by many for writing about panhandling "bums" and the Monterey Chamber of Commerce issued a statement that it was a, "damned lie and that no such place or people existed" (Walton 2002: 275). As

[12] In John Steinbeck;s *Tortilla Flat,* the *Paisanos* are of Mexican-Native American-Spanish-Anglo descent.

certain stories are muted and downplayed in Monterey County, we begin to gain an understanding of the historical construction of the cultural ideology of the region and we can situate the symbolism representing who belongs in the community and who does not.

Theories of space and how people have inhabited a particular place and instilled it with meaning about culture, economy, and society occur too often in history in the places of the West. Scholars must tackle the meaning of "community" and the multiple ways by which criteria are constructed to delegate community membership. In many cases, the history that is put forth for the public fails to address issues related to those residents who remain marginalized from the dominant community. Furthermore, as citizenship policy, institutionalized racism, and cultural ideologies force more people into the shadows of social, cultural, economic, and political arenas, issues continue to plague communities throughout the U.S. In order to allow for the permeation of historical processes of discrimination of people of color, the historical practice of racial discrimination and racist policy are ignored by dominant groups in regions throughout the U.S. The dominant culture then imposes cultural mechanisms to justify the way things are and selects bits and pieces of history to celebrate while forgetting the rest. In the case of Monterey County, the history of Cannery Row, the sleepy beach town image of Monterey, and the haziness of racial tensions in the Salinas Valley is a part of that selective history.

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND A STEP FORWARD

In this historical account, I have attempted to construct an illustration of the events, social conditions, peoples, and interactions in which discrimination and marginalization were prominent throughout the history of community development in Monterey County. In doing so, I relied on census data, archives, local journals and newsletters, and bibliographical data. The aim of this study is to construct a foundation for future, in-depth investigations into the interethnic relations in Monterey County. As I continued my research throughout the project I became surprised at how obvious racial discrimination permeates the history of Monterey County, yet this history remains muted and ignored in depictions of local history and attractions for the public. Monterey County's interethnic past as part of the city's official history is necessary in order to provide a reflective account that also represents a more comprehensive and realistic version of how community relations evolved. The inclusion of various racially discriminatory events and factors would shed light on the social conditions and stark contrasts that exist between and amongst the communities of the eastern and western sectors of the County. It would also help to explain how Anglo Americans attained the political power and social status they enjoy today. Social segregation, discrimination, dominant group repression, unequal laws in housing, labor rights, and education, and racist ideologies have been effective means used to control and discriminate against minorities in Monterey County. This study illustrates the processes by which certain groups become dominant and construct methods to subjugate others and shape social relations that are maintained and replicated throughout the past to the present. These

histories also reveal the variety of tensions, relations, and unifying factors within multiethnic and multiracial communities. Furthermore, by incorporating groups that have been marginalized from popular history, these histories challenge dominant histories and ideologies and shed light on the social, political, and economic contributions of racial minorities in the U.S.

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